

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM.

VOL I

INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

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"In the scarcity of authentic materials for the ancient, and even for the modern history of India, importance is justly attached to all genuine monuments, and especially to inscriptions on stone and metal"—*Colebrooke's Essays*, II, 213

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P R E F A C E

THE object of the present work is to bring together in a few handy and accessible volumes all the ancient inscriptions of India which now lie scattered about in the journals of our different Asiatic Societies. As some of these publications are very costly, and at the same time not easy to procure, the present publication will be the means of placing in the hands of all scholars, who are interested in the history and antiquities of India, a complete collection of authentic copies of all those precious records on stone and copper which have been discovered up to the present time.

As fresh discoveries are constantly being made, it would now be almost useless to draw up any details of the contents of future volumes. But as the accessions of old inscriptions are comparatively few, I think it not premature to announce that the first three volumes will contain three distinct series of inscriptions, named respectively after the persons or periods to which they belong. The names and contents of these volumes will be as follow:

- Vol. I —Inscriptions of Asoka on Rocks and Pillars
- „ II —Inscriptions of the Indo-Scythians, and of the Satraps of Surashtra
- „ III —Inscriptions of the Guptas, and of other contemporary dynasties of N. India

The present volume contains the Inscriptions of Asoka. The gathering together of revised and authentic copies of these important records in a single volume has long been wanted for the purpose of collation and of re-translation by competent scholars.¹ This want will, I hope, be met by the collection which I now present to the public. No effort has been spared to render it complete, and at the same time to present the most perfect and authentic copy of each inscription that can now be made. To secure the latter important object, the whole of the inscribed rocks and pillars, as well as the caves, have been visited, either by myself or by my zealous assistant, Mr J. D. Beglar. I have myself visited all the pillars and most of the caves, as well as the rocks of Shâlbâz-garhi, Khâlsî, Banât, Rupnâth and Sahasrâm, and Mr Beglar has visited the Dhauli and Jaugada rocks and the Râmgaih caves in Sîrghjâ.

The original impressions have been carefully reduced under my personal superintendence by my draughtsman, Babu Jamna Shankar Bhat, who has a very correct eye, and is now conversant with the true shapes of these ancient characters. Every doubtful letter was brought to notice and jointly scrutinised and compared with photographs and former transcripts. Every single letter of the reduced pen-

¹ "These interesting monuments which, in spite of the investigations of Prinsep, Wilson, Burnouf and others, still remain incompletely translated"—Edwin Norris, M. S. Note

called copy was then examined by myself while transcribing the different texts into Roman characters, and, lastly, the pencilled letters were all inked in by my own hand, so as to ensure the requisite accuracy in the shapes of the ancient characters. As the plates now published are mechanical copies by photozincography of my originals, any errors that exist must be solely due to my own oversight. That some remain I have no doubt, but I can truly say that I have done my best to make the present copies as perfect as possible.

Of the Khandagiri inscription I possess several large photographs taken from a plaster cast of the original made by Mr. H. H. Locke.

Of the Gurnai inscription I have had the use of the Bengal Asiatic Society's impression taken by Sir Legrand Jacob in 1838 for James Prinsep, as well as a separate copy of the 13th Edict examined by the General himself. These have been carefully compared with Norris' excellent lithograph prepared by himself from an impression forwarded to the Royal Asiatic Society by Sir Legrand Jacob. I have detected a few small differences, of which the chief is the occurrence of the compound letter *my*, which has been copied in the lithograph as *mn*, and read in the transcript as a simple *m*. The same compound is employed in the Jaugada text, where it is more clearly formed after the beautiful exemplars of the pillar inscriptions. This compound is used in the 9th and 11th edicts in the word *Samyapattipatti*. I may mention also that the name of *Nāristika* does not occur in the 5th Edict. The first syllable belongs to the previous name *Gandhārānām*, and the curtailed name is correctly *Rāshṭika*, which is one of the known appellations of Surasṭra.

The *Shāhbaz-garhi* version of the edicts is particularly valuable, from being written in the Ariano-Pāli character, which possesses all the three sibilants of Sanskrit, and also approaches nearer to Sanskrit in the use of the sub-joined *r* as in the name of *Priyadarsi*. But it is of special value in giving certainty to many doubtful readings of the Indian Pāli texts, as in the case of similar Indian letters, such as *p*, *h*, and *s*, which are easily mistaken for one another in a mutilated inscription, but which in the Ariano-Pāli alphabet are widely different in form.

In PART I I have given a general account of the sites and dimensions and present condition of all the inscribed rocks, caves and pillars, which is illustrated by a map showing the exact position of each inscription. Then follows a detailed account of the inscriptions which are naturally divided into three classes according to the positions which they occupy, whether on rocks, caves or pillars. I have here added a few notices of any peculiarities or marked differences of reading which I have observed during my examination of the texts. An attempt has also been made to fix the date of each separate inscription.

PART II deals with the language and alphabets of the edicts. With respect to the first I have confined myself to extracts from Prinsep and Wilson, to show in what degree it approaches the Pāli of the Buddhist books of Burma and Ceylon. But the subject of the alphabetical characters is treated at much greater length. I have given a plate of the two alphabets side by side, containing three specimens of each, to show the changes that took place in some of the letters between the times of Asoka and Kanishka. With regard to the Indian Pāli alphabet, I have ventured to claim for it a local origin quite independent of all other alphabets. If

my views be correct, the alphabetical characters of India must have passed through a pictorial stage of writing, similar to that of the early Egyptian hieroglyphs. It is true that no specimens of this kind of writing have yet been found in India, but it is quite possible that some may still exist, although they have hitherto escaped notice. I have myself published one early specimen of writing on a seal which was found in the Panjâb. The only difficulty about such a small and easily-transportable article as a seal is the possibility that it may have been imported from the west. But opposed to this objection is the strong fact that the cuneiform alphabets of the countries to the west of the Indus, which are now known to us, offer no affinities whatever with the characters of the seal.

In PART III I have arranged the texts of all the inscriptions in Roman characters one under the other for ready reference and comparison. The readings are my own, made from my new copies of the inscriptions, but all the principal variations from previous readings are given in the foot-notes of each page.

Amongst the *Rock Inscriptions*, the greater portion of the Khâlsî version and the whole of the Jaugada version are now published for the first time. But the most interesting addition is the newly-found dated edict in its three variant texts at Sahasrâm, Rupnâth and Banât. For the able readings and translations of these important records I am indebted to the friendly pen of Dr G. Bühler.

Of the *Cave Inscriptions*, only one is absolutely new, but the whole of them have been made from fresh copies and impressions taken by Mr Beglar and myself.

Similarly, the *Pillar Inscriptions* have all been made from fresh impressions taken by myself. There are no less than five different texts, all of which were known to Prinsep. There are comparatively few variations in the pillar readings, as the characters are all of the same size and very symmetrically formed, and, where not injured by the abrasion of the stone, are particularly distinct and legible. The only difference in my reading that is worthy of special notice is in the last paragraph of the long edict, engraved around the Delhi Pillar, in which I find the word *Silaphalakâm*, "stone tablets," instead of Prinsep's *Siladharika*.

In PART IV I have collected together all the translations of Asoka's Inscriptions which were published by Prinsep, Wilson and Burnouf. Where there is more than one translation available, I have placed the two versions side by side for ready reference.

As the Asoka inscriptions are exclusively Buddhistical, I take this opportunity to make a few observations on the Buddhist era of the Nirvâna. According to the Pâli books of Ceylon and Burma, Buddha's death took place in 544 B. C., a modest amount of antiquity which would no doubt have met with general acceptance had not the same chronicles assigned A. B. 162 for the accession of Chandia Gupta Maurya, and A. B. 218 for the inauguration of his grandson Asoka¹. Now the dates of these two Princes can be fixed within very narrow limits, the first having been identified by Sir William Jones with Sandrokoptos, the ally of Seleukus Nikator, and the second having furnished his own date by the mention of no less

than five Greek Princes who were his contemporaries. The date of Chandia Gupta's accession, therefore, is now assigned to B C 316, and consequently Asoka's inauguration will thus fall in B C 260, and his accession, which took place four years earlier, in B C 264. But if the Nirvāna occurred in B C 544, the date of Chandia Gupta's accession in A B 162 would be raised to 382 B C, or 66 years too early, while the accession of Asoka would be placed in B C 330, just 66 years before Antiochus II succeeded to the throne of Syria, and 58 years before his contemporary Alexander II succeeded to the throne of Epirus. It seems certain, therefore, that there is an error of about 66 years in these two dates, and, as the succession of Buddhist teachers from the death of Buddha to the time of Asoka is natural and unbroken, while the succession of the Ceylonese Rajas in the same period is equally unobjectionable, the same correction must be applied to the date of the Nirvān itself, which will thus be brought down from B C 544 to B C 478.

But here it may be urged that, if the accession of Vijaya to the throne of Ceylon be lowered by 66 years, the whole of the later Ceylonese chronology will be disturbed to the same amount. But in reply I am prepared to point to a fault or disruption in the later strata of Ceylonese chronology which requires about the same amount of correction to make it straight. This period embraces the reigns of Mutasiwa and his nine sons, that is, of *two generations only*, who are said to have ruled over Ceylon from A B 176 to A B 338, or for the incredible period of 162 years. But as the longest period yet covered by two successive generations has very rarely exceeded one hundred years, while the average period of the six longest pairs known to me is only 96½ years, it is quite clear that there must be an error in the duration of these ten reigns of about 66 years¹. By applying this correction to the date of Mutasiwa, we get A B 176 - 178 = 302 B C for his accession, which would make his *second son*, Deveniapiatissa, a contemporary of Asoka, in perfect agreement with the Ceylonese history itself.

This later date for the Nirvāna of Buddha was first proposed by me in 1852,² as a result of the correction which was found to be necessary in the dates of Asoka and Chandra Gupta on the testimony of their Greek contemporaries. I have since added the almost equally strong evidence of the Ceylonese history itself, which, as I have shown above, requires an equal amount of correction in the very period contemporary with Asoka. I will now give a third reason for the adoption of this later date, which bears directly on the age of Buddha himself.

According to the Jains, the chief disciple of their Tirthankar, *Mahāvira* was named *Gautama Svāmi*,³ or *Gotama Indrabhāti*,⁴ whose identity with Gotama Buddha, the founder of the Buddhist religion, was suggested by both Dr Hamilton and Major Delamaine, and was accepted as highly probable by the cautious and

¹ The longest pairs of reigns, of father and son, known to me are the following. Henry III and Edward I reigned 91 years, Louis XIII and Louis XIV reigned 105 years. Two Chalukya Rajas are said to have reigned 102 years, two Rajas of Bikaner 100 years, two Rajas of Kashmir 86 years, and two Rajas of Handur 96 years. These six pairs give an average of nearly 97 years per pair, which, applied to the Ceylonese chronology, would show an error of 65 years.

² See Bhilsa Topes, p 74, and Bengal Asiatic Society Journal, 1854, p 704.

³ Ward's Hindus, II, 247, and Colebrooke's Essays, II—279.

⁴ Stevenson's Kalpa Sutra, p 92.

judicious Colebrooke His clear statement of the case raises this probability almost to certainty¹

"In the Kalpa Sutra and in other books of the Jainas, the first of Mahāvira's disciples is mentioned under the name of Indiabhūti, but in the inscription under that of Gautama Swāmi The names of the other ten precisely agree, whence it is to be concluded, the Gautama, first of one list, is the same with Indiabhūti, first of the other

"It is certainly probable, as remarked by Dr Hamilton and Major Delamaine, that the Gautama of the Jainas and of the Buddhas is the same personage, and this leads to the further surmise that both these sects are branches of one stock According to the Jainas, only one of Mahāvira's eleven disciples left spiritual successors, that is, the entire succession of Jaina priests is derived from one individual, Sudharma Swāmi Two only out of eleven survived Mahāvira, viz, Indiabhūti and Sudharma the first identified with Gautama Swāmi has no spiritual successors in the Jain sect The proper inference seems to be that the followers of this surviving disciple are not of the sect of Jaina, rather than that there have been none Gautama's followers constitute the sect of Buddha, with tenets in many respects analogous to those of the Jainas, or followers of Sudharma, but with a mythology or fabulous history of deified saints quite different Both have adopted the Hindu Pantheon, or assemblage of subordinate deities, both disclaim the authority of the Vedas, and both elevate their pre-eminent saints to divine supremacy"

Now, if we admit the identity of *Gotama Swāmi*, the chief disciple of Mahāvira, with *Gotama Buddha*, the founder of the Buddhist religion, the date of the Nirvāna of Buddha can be determined within one or two years with absolute certainty by the following facts

(1) Mahāvira, the last Jaina Tirthankara, died in B C 527, according to the concurrent testimony of the Jains in all parts of India

(2) If Gotama Buddha was Mahāvira's disciple, his term of pupilage must have been during the short period of his early monastic life before he began his long abstraction under the Bodhi tree at *Uruvilva*, or Bodhi Gaya

(3) Prince Siddhārtha was 29 years old when he left his father's house to become an ascetic, and 80 years of age when he died in B C 478 He would, therefore, have joined Mahāvira in B C $478 + 51 = 529$ B C, just 2 years before that teacher's death, B C 527 His stay with the Jaina teacher could not, therefore, have been more than 2 years complete This would place his birth 31 complete years before B C 527, or in B C 558, and his death 49 complete years after B C 527, or in B C 478

Now it will be remembered that I was fortunate enough to discover at Gaya a Sanskrit inscription dated in the year 1813 of the Nirvāna of Buddha, on *Wednesday*, the 1st of the waning moon of Kārttika² Here the week day being given, we have a crucial test for determining whether the Northern Buddhists reckoned the date of the Nirvāna from B C 544, in accordance with the Ceylonese calendar, or whether they had a separate and independent chronology of their own According to the former reckoning, the date of the inscription would be 1813 less 544 or A D 1269, in which year the 1st of *Kārttika badi* fell on Sunday, the 27th October. But by adopting my proposed correction of 66 years, the date of the

¹ Colebrooke's Essays, Vol II, p 276

² Archaeological Survey of India, Vol I, p 1 I then read the date as 1819, and so it was read by learned men in Bengal, but the publication of the numerals preserved in the old manuscripts of Nepal shews that the unit figure is beyond all doubt a 3

inscription will fall on the 4th October 1335 A D, which day was Wednesday, as stated in the inscription

The date of Chandia Gupta's accession offers another means of ascertaining within very narrow limits the true era of the Nirvāṇa. Dr Buhler has already pointed out that "the two outside termini for the beginning of Chandia Gupta's reign are B C 321 on the one side, and B C 310 on the other"¹ As Chandia Gupta's accession is placed 162 complete years after the Nirvāṇa, the limiting dates for the death of Buddha will be 321 plus 162, or B C 483, and 310 plus 162, or B C 472. Now, within these limits there are only three years, which, taken as a starting point, will give *Wednesday* for *Kārtik badī 1* in A B 1813. These three years are B C 319, 316, and 309². The last is certainly too late, as it would place Asoka's accession in 257 B C, his inauguration in 253, and his conversion to Buddhism in 250. But his treaties with the Greek Kings, which followed his conversion, must have been made before the death of Alexander II of Epirus in B C 254, even if we admit that they were drawn up in ignorance of the death of Magas in B C 258. In these inscriptions also we find mention of the 10th and 12th years of Asoka's reign, which, if we take the year 309 for the accession of Chandra Gupta, would fall in B C 242 and 240, which is quite impossible, as Antiochus Theos died early in B C 246. It is certain, therefore, that the 12th year of Asoka must be placed before B C 246. We have thus only two years left which will suit the respective requirements of Asoka's history and the week-day of the Gaya inscription. These two are 316 and 319 B C for the accession of Chandia Gupta, which will give the following dates for Asoka

Accession	B C 267 or 264
Inauguration	„ 263 or 260 1st year
Conversion	„ 260 or 257
10th year	„ 254 or 251
12th year	„ 252 or 249

Each of these dates seems unexceptionable so far as Asoka's own history is concerned. But I feel a preference for the later date of B C 316 for the following reason. In another place I have suggested that the *Kanvāyanas*, or *Kanwa* dynasty of the Purāṇas, were most probably the Indo-Scythian Turushkas of Northern India, and that the period of their rule should be corrected from 345 or 45 years to 145 years³. Accepting this suggestion as not improbable, the period of the Kanwas rule must be backwards from 79 A D, which would place their accession in B C 67. By adding 112 years to this date we get B C 179 for the accession of the *Sungas*, and by adding 137 more years we get B C 316 for the accession of Chandra Gupta Maurya.

Regarding Asoka's own reign there is now no doubt that it extended to 41 years altogether, the shorter period of 37 years as stated in the *Mahāwanso* being

¹ Indian Antiquary, 1877, p 154

² I have made the calculations myself for every year from A D 1329 to 1344, corresponding to Chandra Gupta's date from B C 321 to 306

³ Objection has been taken to the longer period of 345 years as being impossible, but the objectors, who have all adopted the lesser period of 45 years, have failed to see that their smaller number is equally impossible for four generations

the official reckoning from the date of his inauguration or *abhishheka*. That this was the initial point of the years of his recognised reign is made quite certain by the statements of the Mahâwanso regarding Mahindo. Thus Mahindo is said to have been ordained a priest in the 6th year of Asoka, and to have proceeded to Ceylon after he had been *twelve* years a priest, when 236 years had passed since the Nirvâna of Buddha, and in the 18th year of Asoka's reign. As the inauguration took place when 218 years had elapsed, this reckoning of 236 years as his 18th year shows that his recognised official reign was counted from his *abhishheka* or coronation, which did not take place until four years after his actual accession. The following table gives all the principal dates of Asoka's reign.

B C		A B	Regnal years
478	Nirvâna of Buddha Sîkya Muni	1	
316	CHANDRA GUPTA, Maurya, 24 years	163	
292	BIADDUSARA, 28 years	187	
277	" Asoka, Governor of Ujain	203	
276	" birth of Mahindo*	204	
264	ASOKA, struggle with brothers, 4 years	215	
260	" inauguration	219	1
257	" conversion to Buddhism	222	4
256	" treaty with Antiochus	223	5
255	" Mahindo ordained	224	6
251	" earliest date of Rock edicts	228	10
249	" second "	230	12
248	" Arsakes rebels in Parthia	231	13
246	" Diodotus rebels in Bactria	233	15
244	" Third Synod under Mogaliputra	235	17
243	" Mahindo goes to Ceylon	236	19
242	" Barabar Cave Inscriptions	237	19
234	" Pillar edicts issued	245	27
231	" Queen Asandhimitta dies	248	30
228	" Second Queen married	251	33
226	" Her attempt to destroy the Bodhi tree	253	35
225	" Asoka becomes an Ascetic	254	36
224	" issues Rupnath and Sahasaram edicts	255	37
223	" dies	256	38
215	DASARATHA's Cave Inscriptions, Nagarjuni	264	

* This date is derived from the statement of the Mahâwanso that Mahindo was 20 years of age at his ordination. But the Burmese Life of Buddha makes him only 18 years old and consistently states that Asoka ruled at Ujain for 9 years, which would place Mahindo's birth just two years later than given above, or in B C 274.

In the foregoing argument I have confined myself to the chronology of the southern Buddhists of Ceylon. I will now attempt to show that the discrepancy which exists between their date of the Nirvâna and that of the northern Buddhists may be reconciled by adopting the correction of 66 years which I have proposed for the Ceylonese date.

In the *Asoka Avadâna* of the northern Buddhists a prediction is attributed to Buddha that 100 years after his Nirvâna there would be a king of Pâtaliputra named Asoka, who would distribute his relics¹. The same period of 100 years is also mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang². But in another Buddhist work, the *Avadâna Sataka*, the date of Asoka's accession to the throne of Pâtaliputra is stated at 200 years after the Nirvâna of Buddha. This is not, of course, the exact

¹ Burnouf, Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien, p. 370.

² Julien's Hwen Thsang, II, 170.

period elapsed, but only the nearest round number, which is therefore in strict accordance with the interval of 214 years assigned by the southern Buddhists

But a still nearer approach to perfect agreement may be obtained by adopting the extra ten years of the Tibetan and Mongolian reckonings which place Asoka 110 years after the Nirvâna¹ The corrected northern date for Asoka according to the Avadâna Sataka will then be 210 years after Buddha's death, which is the nearest decimal round number to the southern period of 214 years That the period of 200 years given by the Avadâna Sataka is the correct one may be shown from the northern chronology itself Thus Hwen Thsang repeatedly mentions that Kanishka ascended the throne 400 years after the Nirvâna of Buddha² According to the Tibetan books this interval was "*more than 400 years*"³ Here then we see that the northern Buddhists, who had two different dates for Asoka, were unanimous in placing the Nirvâna of Buddha at 400 years *or more* before the time of Kanishka Now the age of Kanishka can be fixed with some certainty by the dates of the Roman silver coins that were extracted by General Court from a Stûpa at Mânikyala which was built during Kanishka's reign The latest of these is one of Marcus Antonius the Triumvir, which cannot be older than B C 43, when the famous triumvirate was formed A period of *upwards* of 400 years reckoned back from this time would agree very well with the corrected date of B C 478, which I have proposed as the probable era of the Nirvâna according to the northern Buddhists

If this date be accepted, some explanation is required regarding the two discrepant dates assigned to Asoka by the northern Buddhists The only explanation that I can suggest is, that at some very early period a difference of 100 years in the age of Asoka had been established, which it was found impossible to reconcile Afterwards when Buddha Ghosa, or his predecessors, arranged the southern chronology, the discrepancy was forcibly reconciled by accepting two Asokas, the first being placed exactly 100 years after the Nirvâna, and the other upwards of 100 years later, or more than 200 years after the Nirvâna

Whether this explanation be true or not, it at least has the merit of getting rid of the second synod under the fabulous Kalasoka, as well as of bringing the two conflicting chronologies of the northern and southern Buddhists into perfect harmony with each other

I am aware that Professor Kern has published a special essay on the era of the Nirvâna of Buddha, which he refers to B C 388⁴ This date he obtains by raising the year of Asoka's accession from B C 263 to 270, and by taking the interval between it and the death of Buddha as 100 years, according to one of the two reckonings of the northern Buddhists He thus gets B C 380 (it should be 370) for the date of Nirvâna, and then remarks that this date approaches so near to 388 B C, the year in which Mahâvîra *is said* to have died, that "it is difficult to

¹ Sanang Setsen, as quoted in Fo kwe li, p 249, and Csoma de Koros in Asiatic Researches, XX 297

² Julien s Hwen Thsang, I, 95, II, 106, 107, 172

³ Csoma de Koros in Asiatic Researches, XX, 297

⁴ See Dr J Muir's summary of Dr Kern's dissertation "on the era of Buddha and the Asoka inscriptions," in the Indian Antiquary, 1874, p 79

think the coincidence can be accidental" He accordingly adds eight years more to the interval, by which he gets 118 years, the period elapsed between the death of Buddha and the accession of Asoka, which he takes to have been "the oldest Ceylonese tradition," instead of the 218 years as recorded in all then books

I need hardly say that I dissent from this conclusion altogether, as it ignores, not only the existence of my Gaya Inscription with its Nirvâna date of 1813, but also the northern reckoning of 200 years for the interval between Buddha and Asoka, as recorded in the *Avadâna Sataka*. The first gives us an actual date in the reckoning of the northern Buddhists, and as it adds the week-day Wednesday, it offers a ready means of testing the accuracy of any proposed date. Now the year 478 B C which I have proposed has stood this test, and is moreover in perfect accordance with the date assigned to the era of the Nirvâna by one class of the northern Buddhists as well as by all the southern Buddhists. According to the detailed numbers of the latter, the interval between the death of Buddha and the accession of Asoka is 214 years. In the *Avadâna Sataka* of the northern Buddhists this interval is stated as 200 years, which is the nearest round number to the reckoning of the southern Buddhists. I conclude accordingly that the early chronology of both the northern and the southern Buddhists was originally the same, and that the actual interval between the Nirvâna and the accession of Asoka was 214 years, as stated in the Ceylonese chronicles. The true date of Buddha's death will, therefore, be B C 478, or just 66 years later than the date given in the *Mahâvanso*.

The foregoing discussion regarding the date of Buddha's Nirvân was written just before I had seen the first copy of the *Sahasarâm* inscription. The three symbols which form its figured date at once arrested my attention, and I suspected them to be cyphers, but the copy of the inscription was imperfect in this very part, and it was not until I visited *Sahasarâm* myself, and thus obtained several excellent copies of the edict, that I was satisfied that these three characters were real numerical symbols. The figure on the left hand I recognised at once as that to which I had already assigned the value of 200 in one of the *Mathura* inscriptions, while the value of the middle figure was conclusively determined as 50 by a second *Mathura* inscription, in which the date of Samvat 57 is expressed in words as well as in figures. The value of the unit I at first thought was 6, but on hearing that the late Dr. Bhau Dâjî had found a somewhat similar figure as a variant form of 2, I adopted the latter as its probable value. I was the more ready to adopt this value, as it just brought the Sinhalese date of Asoka with respect to Buddha's Nirvâna into accordance with the date of the inscription.

From the new inscriptions of *Sahasarâm* and *Rupnâth*, we now gain a complete confirmation that the full reign of Asoka extended to 41 years, as it agrees exactly with the difference between the two extreme dates of A B 215 and 256. The same length of reign may also be deduced from the statements of Asoka himself in these two inscriptions. Thus the two periods of upwards of 32 years, say $32\frac{1}{2}$, during which he did not strenuously exert himself, and of more than one year, say $1\frac{1}{2}$, during which he had exerted himself strenuously, amount to 34 years, which

being counted from the date of his conversion to Buddhism seven years after his accession, make up a total of 41 years

I may add here that the Sahasrām inscription of Asoka was first brought to notice so long ago as 1839 by Mr E L Ravenshaw, who had received a copy of it from Shâh Kabîr-ud-dîn. It is described as being incised “on a stone at the summit of a hill near Sahasrām called *Chandan Shahîd*. It is in the ancient character of the Allahabad and Bettiah pillars.” It was then pronounced to be “so imperfect and confused as to baffle Pandit Kamalakanta”¹

¹ See Journal, Bengal Asiatic Society, 1839, p. 354

E R R A T A

Page	1,	line	9,	for	253 and 251,	read	251 and 249
„	3,	„	7,	„	251 „ 244,	„	249—242
„	3,	„	10,	„	218,	read	215
„	3,	„	37,	„	236,	„	234
„	4,	„	29,	„	315 „		316
„	4,	„	30,	„	291 and 263,	read	292 and 264
„	4,	„	31,	„	“ thirty seven,”	read	“ forty one ”
„	4,	„	32,	„	226,	read	223
„	5,	„	8,	„	253 and 251,	read	251 and 249
„	17,	„	9,	„	272 „ 263,	„	275 „ 264
„	17,	„	11,	„	271,	read	274
„	17,	„	12,	„	251,	„	255
„	17,	„	14,	„	241 and 251,	read	244 and 249
„	17,	„	16,	„	251,	read	249
„	17,	note	†,	„	“ Diprimanso,”	read	“ Dipriwanso ”
„	22,	line	23,	„	56,	read	256
„	22,	„	25,	„	“ omission,”	read	“ value ”
„	22,	„	26,	„	“ not uncommon in Indian inscriptions,”	read	“ entirely due to Dr Buhler ”
„	30,	„	19,	„	251,	read	249
„	30,	„	29,	„	251,	„	249
„	31,	„	31, ¹	„	218,	„	215
„	31,	„	40,	„	218,	„	215
„	39,	„	19,	„	“ the ”	read	“ this ”
„	117,	„	8 of note,	for	“ Pirte,”	read	“ Pirate ”
„	117,	„	10 of note,	„	“ in 13th,”	„	“ in the 13th ”

N B —The numerous alterations in figures noted above are solely due to the alteration in the date and duration of Asoka's reign made since the translation of the Sahasarām and Rupnāth dated inscriptions

INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA.

PART I—GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

THE earliest Indian inscriptions that have yet been discovered are the Edicts of Asoka. These are of two distinct classes, which are generally known as Rock Inscriptions, and Pillar Inscriptions, to which may be added a few Cave Inscriptions in Bihâr and Orissa.

The five *Rock Inscriptions* hitherto known present us with five different texts of the same series of edicts which were published by Asoka in the 10th and 12th years of his reign, or in 253 and 251 B C. These five inscribed rocks have been found at far distant places, of which four are on the extreme eastern and western borders of India, thus showing the wide extent of Asoka's rule, as well as the great care which he took about the promulgation of his edicts in the most remote parts of his dominions.

The five famous rocks on which these edicts are engraved are at the following places —

No 1—At *Shâhbâzgarh* in the *Sûdam* valley of the Yusufzai district, 40 miles to the east-north-east of Peshâwar, and 25 miles to the north-west of Attak on the Indus. Its version of the text in the transliteration is indicated by the letter S.

No 2—Near *Khâlsî* on the west bank of the Jamna, just where it leaves the higher range of mountains to pass between the *Dûns*, or valleys, of Kyânda and Dehra. Its version of the text is indicated by the letter K.

No 3—At *Gunnâr*, near Junagarh in Kathiâwâr, 40 miles to the north of Somnâth. Its version of the text is distinguished by the letter G.

No 4—At *Dhauh* in Katak, 20 miles to the south of the town of Katak (Cut-tack), and the same distance to the north of the famous temple of Jagannâth. Its version of the text is marked by the letter D.

No. 5 At *Jaugada* in the Ganjam district, 18 miles to the west-north-west of the town of Ganjam, and about the same distance to the north-north-west of Berhampur. Its version of the text is indicated by the letter J.

Nos. 6 and 7. In addition to these five texts of Asoka's collected series of edicts, there are two separate edicts at Dhauh and Jaugada, which agree so closely with each other as to form two independent but slightly variant texts of the same edicts. As the two separate edicts at Dhauh are addressed to the rulers of *Tosah*, they may be named very appropriately the *Tosah* Edicts, while those

at Jaugada, being addressed to the rulers of *Samâpâ*, may with equal fitness be named the *Samâpâ* Edicts

- Of the five inscriptions above noted, three only were known to Prinsep and Burnouf, the *Khâlsî* and *Jaugada* versions having been discovered many years later

Within the last three years, also, three new inscriptions have been brought to light, which on examination I find to be only slightly variant texts of a single edict, but it is a very important one, as all three texts are dated in an era which I take to be that of the Nirvân of Buddha. These three inscribed rocks are at the following places —

No 8 —At *Sahasrârm*, at the extreme north-east end of the Kaimur range of hills, 70 miles to the south-east of Benares, and 90 miles to the south-west of Patna. This inscription was found by Mr Davis, and brought to notice by Mr S S Jones, Assistant Magistrate of Sahasrârm. The date was discovered by myself

No 9 —At *Rûpnâth*, a famous place of pilgrimage, situated at the foot of the Kaimur hills, and near the extreme south-west end of the range, and thirty-five miles nearly due north from Jabalpur. This inscription was originally discovered by a servant of Colonel Ellis, who furnished a very imperfect and quite unreadable copy, which I found in a box in the museum of the Bengal Asiatic Society. A meagre endorsement in Nâgarî letters merely stated that it was found at “Rûpnâth, in Paiganah Sahmabad.” As there is a Sahmabad Paiganah between Gaya and Mongir, I expected to have found this inscription not far from Bihâr, but all search in that neighbourhood was in vain. I then directed the attention of my assistant, Mr Beglar, to Sleemanabad near Jabalpur, which is generally called Sahmabad, and near that place he discovered the missing inscription

No 10 —At *Bairât*, at the foot of the *Blum-gupha* hill, forty-one miles nearly due north of Jaypur, and twenty-five miles to the west of Alwar. Bairât is a very old town, which was once famous for its copper mines, and is still widely known by its connection with the wanderings of the Pandus. The inscription was discovered by my assistant, Mr Calleyle

The three copies of this new edict are placed together in Plate XIV

No 11 —Also at *Bairât* —This is the well-known inscription which was discovered by Captain Burt, and which has had the good fortune to be translated and annotated by Burnouf and Wilson. As it is engraved on a detached block of granite, the inscription was presented to the Asiatic Society by the Raja of Jaypur, and it now graces their museum, in front of the bust of James Prinsep

No 12 —Another rock inscription, of somewhat later date, exists on the Khandagiri hill, near Dhauli in Katak. Its probable date is about B C 200. It is a record of an unknown Raja of Kalinga, named *Aira*, or *Vera*, and is generally known as the Khandagiri inscription

No 13 —A still later inscription exists on a detached block of stone at *Deotek*, about fifty miles to the south-east of Nagpur. It has been dated, but the year is unfortunately lost, and only the names of the season, the fortnight, and the day now remain. I do not think that it can be earlier than the beginning of the first century B C

The *Cave Inscriptions*, which now amount to seventeen, are found at four different places Nos 1, 2 and 3 are in the hill of Barābar, and Nos 4, 5, and 6, in the hill of Nāgājuni, both places being about fifteen miles to the north of Gaya in Bihar Nos 7 to 15 are in the hill of Khandagiri in Katak, and Nos 16 and 17 are in Rāmgairi in Sirguja

The three inscriptions at Barābar were discovered by Kittoe after Prinsep's death. They belong to the 12th and 19th years of Asoka, or to 251 and 244 B C, and have had the advantage of being translated and criticised by Burnouf The three inscriptions at Nāgājuni, which belong to the reign of Dasaratha, the grandson of Asoka, were translated by Prinsep himself Their date is B C 218. Of the nine Khandagiri inscriptions, all but the first, which was discovered by Mr Beglar, were known to James Prinsep. They belong to the reign of Ara, or Veia, Raja of Orissa, and are of a somewhat later date than the Asoka inscriptions, or about B C 200 The two inscriptions from the Rāmgairi hill in Sirguja were first made known by Colonel Ouseley, but the copies now given are taken from Mr Beglar's photographs and impressions One of them has the peculiarity of using the palatal sibilant S in the name of the maker of the cave, a *Sutnuka* named *Devadasa*. The letter l also is used for r in the word *rupadakhe* for *rupadakha* = sculptor

The *Pillars* erected by Asoka would appear to have been very numerous, but only a few of them are now known to exist, besides several fine capitals without their shafts But only six of these pillars are inscribed, although the Chinese pilgrims make mention of many that bore records of Asoka One complete pillar with a single lion capital stands at Bakhia in Tihut, but there is no trace whatever of any ancient inscription upon it A second pillar, nearly complete, with an eight-lion capital, stands at *Latiya*, fourteen miles to the south of Ghāzipur, but it is also without any inscription A broken pillar, which once stood at Bakior opposite Bodh-Gaya, and another in the ancient city of Taxila in the Panjāb, are likewise uninscribed There are also the capitals of six other large pillars still lying at Sankisa, Bhilsa, Sānchi and Udayagiri. All of these I have seen, but as no portions of their shafts could be found, it is impossible to say whether they were inscribed or not

The sites of the inscribed pillars, which occupy only a limited area in the very heart of Asoka's dominions extending from the Jumna to the Gandak, present a most marked contrast to the scattered positions of the rock inscriptions on the eastern and western frontiers of his kingdom Six of these inscribed pillars have been found, of which five present, in a slightly variant form, the text of a series of six edicts that were promulgated by Asoka in the 27th year of his reign, or in B C 236. These five pillars are now standing at the following places, but it is known that the two Delhi pillars were brought to their present positions by Firoz Tughlak from Siwālik and Muat

No 1 At *Delhi*, now known as Firoz Shah's Lāt This pillar was brought from a place named *Topur Sūk*, in the Siwālik country I propose, therefore, to call it the *Delhi-Siwālik* pillar for the sake of distinction, and to indicate its version of the text by the letters D S

No 2 At *Delhi*—This pillar was brought from Mirat by Firoz Shah I propose, therefore, to call it the *Delhi-Mirat* pillar, and to distinguish its version of the text by the letters D M

No 3—At *Allahabad*, inside the fort Its version of the text is distinguished by the letter A

No 4—At *Lauriya*, a small hamlet near the temple of Ararāj Mahadeva, between Kesariya and Bettia, and seventy-seven miles nearly due north from Patna I have already named this as the *Lauriya-Ararāj* pillar, and I propose now to distinguish its version of the text by the letters L A.

No 5—At *Lauriya*, a large village, fifteen miles to the north-north-west of Bettia, and ten miles to the east of the Gandak river Close beside it there is a lofty ruined fort called Nonadgarh or Navandgarh I therefore called this the *Lauriya-Navandgarh* pillar, and its version of the text will be distinguished by the letters L N

Nos 6 and 7.—The *Delhi-Swādhik* pillar has two additional edicts which are not found on any of the other pillars. No 6 is placed on the east face below the original edicts, and No 7 encircles the whole shaft

Nos 8 and 9—On the Allahabad pillar there are also two short additional edicts which are peculiar to itself. Of these No 8 was known to James Prinsep, and as it refers to some queen's gifts, it may be appropriately named the "Queen's edict"

No 9, which has just been discovered by myself, may be called the Kosāmbi edict, as it is addressed to the rulers of Kosāmbi, a famous ancient city, the ruins of which still exist on the Jumna, thirty miles above Allahabad.

No 10—Pillar inscription is a short mutilated record on a fragment of a pillar lying beside the great Sānchi Stūpa near Bhilsa I am afraid that its reading is generally too doubtful to be of any real value.

The sites of all these inscribed rocks and pillars are shown in the accompanying map, with their names printed in red

Asoka, the generally acknowledged author of these inscriptions, was the third Prince of the Maurya dynasty, and the grandson of Chandia Gupta, who was happily identified by Sir William Jones with Sandiakoṭos, the contemporary of Seleukos Nikator Chandia Gupta reigned twenty-four years from B C. 315 to 291. His son Bindusāra reigned twenty-eight years down to B C. 263, when he was succeeded by Asoka, who reigned thirty-seven years, and died in B C. 226 I understand that Wilson to the last doubted the identity of Asoka Maurya with the Priyadarsi of these rock and pillar edicts But as he firmly believed in the identity of Chandra Gupta and Sandiakoṭos, his doubts as to the identity of Asoka and Priyadarsi were a manifest inconsistency For as both Brahminical and Buddhist accounts agree in stating that Asoka Maurya, the grandson of Chandia Gupta Maurya, was King of Magadha for thirty-seven years, as noted above, it is certain that he was a contemporary of all the five Greek Princes mentioned in the edicts of Priyadarsi¹ And as Priyadarsi also ruled over Magadha, we thus have two different kings of Magadha at the same time The simple solution of this difficulty is the fact, mentioned in the Singhalese Dipawanso, that *Asoka* was also

¹ These five Princes are—

Antiochus II.—Theos of Syria
Ptolemy II.—Philadelphos of Egypt
Antigonos Gonnatas of Macedonia
Magas of Cyrene
Alexander II. of Epirus

B C	263	246
"	285	246
"	276	213
"		258
"	272	254

called *Priyadarsi*. The same fact is also stated in the Burmese life of Buddha, where Mahākāśyapa is made to prophesy that "in after times a young man named *Piadaṭha* (*Piyadasi*) shall ascend the throne and become a great and renowned monarch under the name of Asoka"¹ A strong argument in favour of the identity of *Piyadasi* Devānampriya with Asoka, is the subsequent use of one of the titles by his grandson Devānampriya Dasaratha in the Nāgājunī cave inscriptions

As both the 10th and 12th years of *Piyadasi* are mentioned in the rock edicts, the dates of their promulgation will be B C 253 and 251 Now, as Alexander II of Epirus died in B C 254, the mention of his name in the edicts of *Piyadasi* which were promulgated just at that time is the most satisfactory proof of the accuracy of the date which has been assigned to Asoka, and most conclusively confirms Sir W Jones's identification of Sandiakoṭos with Chandra Gupta

That the Antiochus mentioned by *Piyadasi* is not Antiochus the Great, as suggested by Wilson, is most fully proved by the omission of the name of Euthydemus of Bactria, the nearest Greek prince on the frontier of India It is equally disproved by the reference to the governors (*Sāmanta* and *Sāmino*) of Antiochus, which shows that the revolt of the Eastern princes under Diodotus, Pantaleon and Antimachus had not then taken place These edicts were therefore drawn up during the lifetime of Antiochus Theos, or certainly before B C 216

The following is James Prinsep's summary² of the "contents of the edicts" —

"The *first* edict prohibits the sacrifice of animals both for food and in religious assemblies, and enjoins more attention to the practice of this first of Buddhistic virtues than seems to have been paid to it even by the Raja himself, at least prior to the sixteenth year of his reign

"The *second* edict provides a system of medical aid for men and animals throughout *Piyadasi*'s dominions, and orders trees to be planted and wells to be dug along the sides of the principal public roads

"The *third* edict enjoins a quinquennial humiliation, or if we read the word, by the alteration of *y* to *s*, as *anusasānam*, the re-publication every five years of the great moral maxim inculcated in the Buddhist creed, *viz*, 'Honour to father, charity to kindred and neighbour and to the priesthood (whether Brahmanical or Buddhistical), humanity to animals, to keep the body in temperance, and the tongue "from evil speaking!" And these precepts are to be preached to the flock by their pastors with arguments and examples This edict is dated after the twelfth year of *Piyadasi*'s inauguration

"The *fourth* edict draws a comparison between the former state of things, perhaps lawless and uncivilised, and the state of regeneration of the country under the ordinances of the beloved king The publication of the glad tidings seems to have been made with unexampled pomp and circumstance, and posterity is invoked to uphold the system This edict is also dated in the twelfth year of *Piyadasi*

"The *fifth* edict, after an exordium not very intelligible, proceeds to record the appointments of ministers of religion, or more strictly missionaries, and enumerates many of the countries to which they are to be deputed for the conversion of the young and the old, the rich and the poor, the native and the foreigner Many highly curious points, especially as to geography, call for notice in this edict, wherein for the first time the name of the celebrated city of *Pātaliputra* is made known to us in the ancient character

"The *sixth* edict appoints in like manner *pativédakas*, informers, or perhaps more properly *custodes morum*, who are to take cognizance of the conduct of the people in their meals, their

¹ Bishop Bigandet's Legend of the Burmese Buddha, 2nd edit, p 346

The Burmese pronounce *s* as a soft English *th*, hence they say *Piadaṭha* and *Athoka* for *Piyadasi* and *Asoka*

² Journal, Bengal Asiatic Society, VII, 220

domestic life, their families, then conversation, their general deportment, and then decess. It also nominates magistrates or officers for punishment, if the word *antiyāyika* (S *antayāla*) may be so understood, so that in this edict we have a glimpse of the excellent system of moral administration for which the Greek and Persian historians give credit to our monarch, and we find it actually not very different from that followed twenty centuries later by ourselves, for we too have our judge, and our magistrates, and further, our missionaries are spread abroad among the people to drown them with the overflowing truths of our *dharma*, to release them from the fetters of sin and bring them unto the salvation which 'passeth understanding!'

"The *seventh* edict expresses, not an order, but an earnest desire on the part of the king that all the diversities of religious opinion may be obliterated, that every distinction in rank and in tastes may be harmonised into one system of *bhāvasudhi*, that peace of mind, or repose of conscience, which proceeds from knowledge, from faith and entire assent

"The *eighth* edict contrasts the mere carnal amusements patronised by former Rajs with the more harmless and pious enjoyment prescribed by himself. The *dhammayātrā*, or in Sanskrit *dhammayātrā*, the festival of religion, is thus set in opposition to the *vihiāyātrā*, the festival of amusement, and it is stated to consist in the visits to holy people, in alms-giving, in respect to elders, and similar praiseworthy sources of rational gratification. This edict is dated in (or rather after) the tenth year of Piyadasi's reign

"The *ninth* edict continues the thread of the same discourse by expatiating on the sources of true happiness, not such as the worldling seeks in marriage, in rearing children, in foreign travel, and such things, but the *dharma mangalam*, the happiness of virtue, which displays itself in benevolence to dependants, reverence to one's pastors, in peace with all men, abundant charity, and so forth, through which alone can the blessings of Heaven be propitiated

"The *tenth* paragraph comments upon *Yaso vā kīrti vā*, the glory of renown, which attend merely the vain and transitory deeds of this world. The Raja is actuated by higher motives, and he looks beyond for the reward for which he strives with heroism (*parāhramena*) the most jealous, yet respectful

"The *eleventh* edict is to be found at Dhauri, but it is well preserved at Girnar, and the meaning is clear throughout. As former paragraphs had vaunted the superiority of every act connected with *dharma*, so this upholds that the imparting of *dharma* itself is the chiefest of charitable donations, and then it points out as usual how the possession of this treasure becomes manifest in good works rewarded with temporary blessings in this world and endless moral merit (as the reward of it) in the next

"The *twelfth* edict is likewise wanting in the Katak series. It is addressed to all unbelievers, whether domestic or ascetic, with entreaty and with more solid and more persuasive bounty, though direct disavowal that fame is the object. There is some little obscurity in the passages which follow regarding the mode of dealing with the two great divisions of the unbelievers who are distinguished as *āptapāsanda* (those fit for conversion or actually converted), and *parapāsanda*, ultra heretics, or those upon whom no impression had been made, but the concluding paragraph informs us of the appointment of three grades of ministers, *dharmamahāmātrās*, *stairyā-mahāmātrās*, and subordinates, in the congregational ceremonies, *karmikās*, thus placing the religion upon a firmer basis, promoting conversion to it, and enhancing its attractiveness among the people

"The *fourteenth* edict is one of the most interesting of the whole series. It is a kind of summing up of the foregoing, which we have seen are partly laconic and partly diffuse, but the whole is said to be complete itself, and if more were written it would be repetition. We learn from this edict that the whole was engraved at one time from an authentic copy, issued, doubtless, under the royal mandate, by a scribe and pandit of a name not very easily deciphered. It is somewhat curious to find the same words precisely on the rock in Katak. The name of the writer is there erased, but the final letters of *lipikāra*, 'scribe,' are quite distinct

"This may be properly regarded as the last of the peculiar series of edicts to which it alludes"

This account of the general scope of Priyadarsi's edicts was subsequently criticised by Wilson, who objected that "with respect to the supposed main purport of the inscription, *proselytism to the Buddhist religion* it may not unreasonably be doubted if they were made public with any such design, and whether they have any connection with Buddhism at all * * * " "The meaning of the language of the inscriptions is, to say the least, equivocal" But notwithstanding these inconclusive evidences of Buddhism, Wilson fully admitted that "Priyadarsi intended to enjoin equal reverence to Brahmins and to Buddhist teachers," that No 12 edict "exhibits this intention most unequivocally, and that the prince enjoins in it no attempt at conversion, but universal respect for all forms of religious belief, his own as well as (that of) any other *Páshanda* " He then explains the true meaning of the term *Páshanda*, as comprising "all who do not regard the authority of the Vedas as infallible and divine, and who draw from them doctrines which tend to set aside the necessity of mere formal ceremonies " "This, in fact, appears to be the main object of all the edicts, whether on the rocks or on the pillars, the exaltation over all ceremonial practices, over a religion of rites, of the observance of moral obligations, the enjoining, in preference to the sacrifice of animals, obedience to parents, affection for children, friends and dependants, reverence for elders, Srâmans and Brahmins, universal benevolence and unreserved toleration." Wilson concludes his arguments with the following words "The edicts may be taken as historical evidence that Buddhism was not yet fully established, and that Priyadarsi was desirous of keeping peace between it and its predecessor by inculcating social duties and universal toleration in place of either ritual or dogma "

The respect paid to Brahmins is satisfactorily accounted for by Burnouf, who remarks that

"in the *early* Buddhist writings very little difference appears between the Buddhists and Brahmins, and Buddha is often described as followed by a crowd of Brahmins as well as Bhikkhus and Srâmans "

¹ Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, XII, 236

² Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, XII, 242, quoted by Wilson

I. ROCK INSCRIPTIONS.

1.—SHÂHBÂZ-GARHI ROCK.

The great inscription of Asoka at Shâhbâz-garhi was first made known by General Court, who described it as being situated *quite close* to Kapurdagarhi, and *almost effaced by time*.¹ But Kapurdagarhi is two miles distant, and the rock is actually within the boundary of the very much larger village of Shâhbâz-garhi, from which it is less than half a mile distant. Court's notice of the inscribed rock stimulated the zeal and curiosity of Masson, who, in October 1838, proceeded to Shâhbâz-garhi,² when he succeeded in making a very fair copy of the inscription, which enabled Norris to identify it as another transcript of Asoka's well-known edicts, but engraved in Arian-Pali characters.

Shâhbâz-garhi is a modern name, derived from the *zîrat* or shrine of Shâhbâz-kalandai, a rather notorious saint, who was described to me as a Kâfir, and who is stigmatised by Baber as "an impious unbeliever, who in the course of the last thirty or forty years had perverted the faith of numbers of the Yusufzais and Dilazâks"³ Baber thus continues: "At the abrupt termination of the hill of Makâm there is a small hillock that overlooks all the plain country, it is extremely beautiful, commanding a prospect as far as the eye can reach, and is conspicuous from the lower grounds. Upon it stood the tomb of Shâhbâz-kalandai. I visited it, and surveyed the whole place. It struck me as improper that so charming and delightful a spot should be occupied by the tomb of an unbeliever. I therefore gave orders that the tomb should be pulled down and levelled with the ground." As this was in A. D. 1519, the death of Shâhbâz must have taken place about A. D. 1490. The old name must, therefore, have been in use down to the time of Baber, but unfortunately he gives only the name of Makâm, which is that of the stream of Shâhbâz-garhi at the present day. Baber also speaks of the hill above the shrine of Shâhbâz as the hill of Makâm; but the name is not that of the town, but of the valley. I accept, therefore, the statement of the people, that the old name of the town was something like Sattâmi or Setiâm, or Sitaiâm, which I propose to identify with the city of the famous Buddhist Prince Sudâna.⁴

¹ Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, V, 481.

² Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, VIII, 296, where Masson describes Shâhbâz garhi as the village nearest to the inscribed rock.

³ Memoirs by Leyden and Erslme, p. 252.

⁴ Archaeological Survey of India, V, 9.

During my stay at Shâhbaz-garhi I made a survey of the neighbourhood, and was surprised to find that the present village was the site of a very old and extensive city, which, according to the people, was once the capital of the country. They pointed to several mounds of ruins as having been inside the city, and to two well-known spots named Khapiari and Khapardara, as the sites of the northern and eastern gates of the city. The truth of their statements was confirmed by an examination of the ground within the limits specified, which I found everywhere strewn with broken bricks and pieces of pottery. The old name of the place was not known, but some said it was Sattami, and others Setiâm and Sitarâmi, all of which I believe to be simple corruptions of the name of the famous Buddhist Prince Sudana or Sudatta.

In my account of the ruins at Shâhbaz-garhi I have identified the site with the *Po-lu-sha* of Hwen Thsang, and the *To-sha-fu* of Sungyun.¹ The two transcripts are evidently intended for the same name, which M. Julien renders by *Parusha*. The position assigned to it by Hwen Thsang is about forty miles to the north-east of Peshawar, and twenty-seven miles to the north-west of Utkhanda, or Ohind. These bearings, and distances fix the site of the city somewhere in the valley of the Makâm Rud, which the subsequent mention of the Dantâlok hill, and of a cave within a few miles of the city, limits to the neighbourhood of Shâhbaz-garhi. That this was one of the chief cities of the country in ancient times we learn from the traditions of the people, as well as from the extent of the existing ruins, and the presence of the great rock inscription of Asoka. From all these concurring circumstances I feel satisfied that the site of Shâhbaz-garhi represents the ancient city of *Po-lu-sha*, or *To-sha*, an identification which will be strongly corroborated by an examination of some of the details furnished by the Chinese pilgrims. As *fu* means "city" I have a suspicion that *To-sha* may be identified with *Bazaria*. In this case Hwen Thsang's *Po-lu-sha* might be read as *Po-sha-lu* by merely transposing the last two syllables. In support of this suggestion I may quote Arrian's description of Bazaria, as situated upon an eminence and surrounded by a stout wall,² which agrees very closely with the actual position of Shâhbaz-garhi, as well as with the accounts of Sudatta's city given by the Chinese pilgrims.

The great inscription of Asoka is engraved on a large shapeless mass of trap rock, lying about 80 feet up the slope of the hill, with its western face looking downwards towards the village of Shâhbaz-garhi. The greater portion of the inscription is on the eastern face of the rock looking up the hill, but all the latter part, which contains the names of the five Greek kings, is on the western face. The mass of rock is 21 feet long and about 10 feet in height, with a general thickness of about 10 feet.³ When I first saw the inscription in January 1847 there was a large piece of rock, which had fallen from above, resting against the upper or eastern face of the inscription. At my request this piece of rock had been removed in 1871 by a party of Sappers, and I was thus able to take a complete impression of this side of the inscription. I cleared

¹ Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. V, p. 16.

² *Anabasis*, IV, 27.

³ Two views of this rock are given in Plate XXX. The inscriptions will be found in Plates I and II.

the ground both above and below the rock, and built level terraces in front of both inscriptions so as to be able to examine with tolerable ease any doubtful portions. The eastern face, though not smooth, presents a nearly even surface, the result of a natural fracture, but the western face is rough and uneven, and the letters, though not much worn, do not afford a good impression. I therefore traced them out carefully with ink for the purpose of taking an eye-copy, but the ink was washed out at night by a heavy fall of rain. The same thing happened a second time, but after a third tracing the weather became fair, and I was able to make a complete eye-copy as well as an impression of this important part of Asoka's inscription. Every doubtful letter was examined several times in different lights, and was copied by my native assistants as well as by myself, until by repeated comparisons the true form was generally obtained. Under these circumstances, I believe that I have secured as perfect and as accurate a copy of this famous inscription as it is now possible to make. As no photographs can be taken of either face of the inscription on account of the slope of the hill, an eye-copy, thus checked by an impression, is, I believe, the best possible substitute. The Khalsi and Shâhbâzgarhi texts are nearly perfect in the important 13th tablet which contains the names of the five Greek kings, and of several well-known districts of India. The words of the Shâhbâzgarhi inscription in this part are as follow, from near the beginning of the 9th line

ANTIYOKA *nama Yona raja, paran cha tena* ANTIYOKENA *chatura IIII rajani,* TURAMAYE *nama, Antikina nama, MAKA nama, ALIKASANDARE nama, nicha* CHODA, PANDA, AVAM, TAMBAPANNIYA, *hevam mevam hevam mevam raja, vishamtini ? YONA* KAMBOYESHU, NABHAKA-NABHAPANTESHU, BHOJA-PITINIKESHU, ANDHIRA-PULINDESHU, *savatam, &c* The name of Alexander is written Alikasandare, which agrees with the *Alkyasandale* of the Khalsi version. Then follow the names of several countries of which not one was recognised by either Norris or Wilson. Of these, *Choda* and *Panda* are the well-known Chola and Pandya of early history. If *Avam* be a proper name, it may be the country of Ptolemy's *An*, an identification which is rendered still more probable by the subsequent mention of *Tambapanniya* or Ceylon. Of the last series of names the *Yonas* and *Kambojas* are well known. Of the *Nabhakas* and *Nabhapantis* I cannot offer even a conjecture, but the *Bhojas* are mentioned both in the Mahabhârata and in the Purânas. They are the people of *Vidarbha*, or *Bidar*. The name of the *Pitenikas* occurs also in the 5th edict, and is probably the same as the *Padenakayika* of the Bhilsa Tope inscriptions¹. The last people are the *Andhras* and *Pulindas*, both well-known names.

This mention is of the highest importance for the ancient history of India, as it proves that the generally accepted chronology which assigns the rise of the Andhras to so late a period as B C 21 is undoubtedly erroneous. I had already discovered this error from an examination of the *Kânharî* and *Nâsik* inscriptions of Gotamiputra Sâtakarni and his successor Pudumavi, which clearly belong to the same period as the well-known Gupta inscriptions. After much consideration

¹ Cunningham's Bhilsa Tope, No 140 inscription. These *Pitenikas* may, perhaps, be identified with Ptolemy's *Bettigoi*.

of the career of Gotamiputra Sâtakarni, I ventured to suggest that he might perhaps be identified with the famous Sâhivâhan, or Sâtavâhan, which would place him in A D 79 instead of A D 320, as generally adopted. That this conclusion as to date was well founded is now proved by the mention of *Andhras* in the edicts of Asoka, which carries back the foundation of the kingdom of Andhra from the latter part of the first century B. C. to the earlier half of the third century B. C. If we adopt the amount of correction which I had already made for Gotamiputra of A D 320—78=242 years, then the foundation of the Andhra kingdom will be placed in B. C. 21+242=B. C. 263, or exactly contemporaneous with Asoka.

In the copy of the Shâhbâz-gairi inscription on the back of the rock prepared by Norris and Wilson, the uppermost line is omitted altogether, their first line being my second line. But there must have been at least two other lines above my first, of which some traces yet remain, as only the last four words of the 12th edict now remain at the beginning of the first line. The 13th edict then begins, and continues down to the end, the greater part being distinctly legible.

This Ariano-Pali version of the edict is of special value in determining the true reading of many words in the Indian version, partly from its possession of the three sibilants, and partly from its use of the attached *r*.

The value of the last is best seen in the important name of *Andhra*, which Wilson read as *Andha*,¹ although he had observed that the Shâhbâz-gairi text "departs less from the Sanskrit than the other, retaining some compound consonants as *pr* in *priya* instead of *piya*," to which he might have added *br* in *Bramana*, *sr* in *Sramana*, and other equally distinct examples. The three sibilants are found together in the word *sususha*, which is written simply *sususa* in all the Indian versions excepting some parts of the Khâlsi text, where the *sh* is used of nearly the same form as the Arian letter. The same letter is also found in the word *vasha* year, which replaces *vasa* of the Indian texts, and in the plural forms of *Kamboyeshu* and *Pulindeshu*, which take the place of *Kambojesu* and *Pulindesu* of the other versions.

But the most remarkable departure from the Indian texts is the use of the vernacular word *baraya* for twelfth instead of the Sanskrit *dvâdasâ*. This word occurs twice in the inscription, near the beginning of the 3d and towards the end of the 4th edict. Strange to say, it remained unrecognised by Wilson, who simply remarks, "in place of *dvâdasâ*, twelve, and *vasa*, year, the inscription has *baraya vasha*, but the first must be wrong." Of the second example, he says that "there is a blank instead of the number," although Norris's Arian text has the letters for *vara*+*vasha* quite distinct, while his English transliteration gives *va rana vasha*. By thus separating *va* from the following letters, it seems that Norris also failed to recognise the true vernacular *baraya* for "twelfth."

I observe that the word *chatura*, "four," in the 13th edict, is followed by four upright strokes, thus, ||||, in the Shâhbâz-gairi text, and that the corresponding word *chatura*, "four," in the Khâlsi text is followed by a nearly upright cross, thus +, which must therefore be the old Indian cyphei for 4. This form was afterwards modified to a St. Andrew's cross, or X, in which shape it was adopted by all the

¹ The suffixed *r* is very distinct on the rock, and was duly inserted by Norris from Masson's hand copy.

people who used the Arian characters, as may be seen in the different inscriptions of the kings Kanishka, Huvishka, and Gondophares, and of the Satiap Liako-Kujulaka¹ Previous to the adoption of this Indian symbol, the cyphers of the Western people would seem to have been limited to single strokes, as the words *pancheshu pancheshu*, "every five," are followed by five upright strokes which precede the word *vasheshu*, "years"

2 — KHÂLSI ROCK

This inscribed rock is a huge boulder of quartz on the western bank of the Jumna, just above the junction of the Tons river, and about 15 miles to the west of Masûn, or Musooriee, as it is spelt in our maps. The rock is situated close to the two little hamlets of Byâs and Haripui, but as the large and well-known village of Khâlsî is not more than a mile and a half to the south, I have ventured to call this inscription by its name.

Between Khâlsî and the Jumna the land on the western bank of the river is formed in two successive ledges or level terraces, each about 100 feet in height. Near the foot of the upper terrace stands the large quartz boulder which has preserved the edicts of Asoka for upwards of 2,000 years. The block is 10 feet long and 10 feet high, and about 8 feet thick at bottom. The south-eastern face has been smoothed, but rather unevenly, as it follows the undulations of the original surface. The main inscription is engraved on this smoothed surface, which measures 5 feet in height, with a breadth of $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet at top, which increases towards the bottom to 7 feet $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches.² The deeper hollows and cracks have been left uninscribed, and the lines of letters are undulating and uneven. Towards the bottom, beginning with the 10th edict, the letters increase in size until they become about thrice as large as those of the upper part. Owing either to this enlargement of the letters, or, perhaps, to the latter part of the inscription being of later date, the prepared surface was too small for the whole record, which was therefore completed on the left-hand side of the rock.

On the right-hand side an elephant is traced in outline, with the word *Gajatama* inscribed between his legs in the same characters as those of the inscription. The exact meaning of this word I do not know, but as the Junagiri rock inscription closes with a paragraph stating that the place is called *Sweta Hasti*, or 'the white elephant,' I think it probable that *Gajatama* may be the name of the Khâlsî rock itself. Amongst the people, however, the rock is known by the name of *Chhatra Sila*, or 'the canopy stone,' which would seem to show that the inscribed block had formerly been covered over by some kind of canopy, or, perhaps, only by an umbrella, as the name imports. In the present year 1876, a Brahman explained that the true name is *Chitra Sila*, that is, the ornamented or 'inscribed rock.' There are many squared stones lying about close to the rock, as well as several fragments of octagonal pillars and half pillars or pilasters, which are hollowed out or fluted on the shorter faces, after the common fashion of the pillars of Buddhist

¹ See Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. III, Plates 13, 14, and 15, and Vol. V, Plate 16, No. 3.

² See Plate XXIX for a view of this rock, and Plates III and IV for its inscriptions.

railings There is also a large carved stone, 7 feet long, 1½ feet broad, and 1 foot in height, which, from its upper mouldings, I judged to have formed the entrance step to some kind of open porch in front of the inscription stone

When first found by Mr Forrest early in 1860, the letters of the inscription were hardly visible, the whole surface being encrusted with the dark moss of ages, but on removing this black film, the surface becomes nearly as white as marble At first sight the inscription looks as if it was imperfect in many places, but this is owing to the engraver having purposely left all the cracked and rougher portions unincised. On comparing the different edicts with those of the Shâhbâz-garhi, Gumnâr and Dhauhi versions, I find the Khâlâsi text to be in a more perfect state than any of them, and it is more especially perfect in that part of the 13th edict which contains the names of the five Greek kings—Antiochus, Ptolemy, Antigonus, Magas and Alexander¹ The Khâlâsi text agrees with that of Dhauhi in rejecting the use of the letter *r*, for which *l* is everywhere substituted But the greatest variation is in the use of the palatal sibilant *s*, which has not been found in any other inscription of this early date This letter occurs in the word *Pasanda*, which curiously enough is spelt sometimes with one *s* and sometime with the other, even in the same edict As the proper spelling of this word is *Pashanda*, it seems almost certain that the people of India proper did not possess the letter *sh* in the time of Asoka²

There are some peculiarities in the Khâlâsi alphabet which are not found in any of the pillar inscriptions, or in the rock inscriptions of Gumnâr, Dhauhi and Jaugada, except, perhaps, in the latter additional edicts. The most remarkable of these peculiarities is the shape of the letter *lh*, which has a large open circle at its foot, instead of the mere dot or knob which is common to all the other great inscriptions In this, however, it agrees with the mass of the Bhairhut inscriptions The shape of the letter *s* is also modified, the left-hand member being placed below instead of to the side In this respect, however, the Khâlâsi form agrees with that on the coins of Pantaleon and Agathokles, and with the Nâgâjuni cave inscriptions of Raja Dasaratha

The only compound letters are *ly*, *lhy*, and *shm* or *sm* In the upper part of the inscription comprising the first nine edicts the letters are small but well-formed, and the words are generally separated, but in the 12th edict at the bottom of the main face of the inscription the letters become much larger, even twice the size of those at the top, while the words are no longer separated It is in this edict that the palatal letter *s* appears so frequently in the word *pâsanda* It is, however, once used in the earlier part of the inscription, close to the end of the 4th edict, in the name of Piyadasi The smaller faults in the rock in this latter part, instead of being left blank as in the uppermost edicts, are marked by a straight upright stroke like the letter *r* At first I thought that this letter had actually been used in the later edicts, but as I examined the words carefully, I soon found that it was a mere conventional mark to denote a blank space.

¹ See Plate IV for this portion of the Khâlâsi inscription

² See Archaeological Survey of India, Vol I, pp 246 247

3 — GĪRĪNĀR ROCK

The first copy of the Gīrīnār edicts, so far as I am aware of, is that which was taken by Dr Wilson of Bombay and forwarded to James Prinsep by Mr Wathen. A better copy was soon afterwards made by Captains Lang and Postans, which furnished Prinsep with correct readings of some important passages. To Captain Postans also I am indebted for the main points in the following accounts of the inscribed rock.

The Gīrīnār version of the edicts of Asoka is inscribed on a large rock on the Gīrīnār hill, half a mile to the east of the city of Junagarh, and forty miles to the north of the famous Pattan Somnāth.¹ Captain Postans describes it as "one of a group of several large granite blocks, and appears to have been chosen for its peculiar form, which approaches to that of a flattened cone. The inscriptions occupy three sides of the rock, that to the east being the most ancient, whilst those on the west and north faces are in a more modern character. The ancient characters recording the edicts of Asoka are deeply cut, and, except where a portion of the stone has been removed by violence, are very perfect." The letters are $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in height, uniform in size, and very clearly and deeply cut. On enquiry it was found that the missing portion of the inscription, including part of the 13th edict, which contains the names of the five Greek kings, had been blasted with gunpowder to furnish materials for a neighbouring causeway! By turning up the soil close by, Captain Postans recovered numerous fragments of the rock, amongst which were two pieces bearing Asoka letters, and a third piece with a portion of later date.²

The inscription consists of two grand divisions, which are separated by a line drawn from the top of the rock downwards. To the left are engraved the first five edicts, and to the right the next seven edicts from 6 to 12. The 13th edict is placed below, and on its right is the 14th edict. The edicts are separated from one another by horizontal lines drawn right across. Between all is a single imperfect line mentioning that the place was called *Śveta Hasti*, or "The White Elephant."

The language of the Gīrīnār edicts differs from that of the other versions in using some peculiar forms, as the locative singular in *mhi*, in *dhamamhi*, *sīlamhi*, instead of *si* as in *dhammasi*, *sīlasi*, &c, and in the compound *samyapātīpati*,³ instead of *sampātīpati* of the Shāhbāz-garhi and Khālsi texts. In this instance, however, the Jaugada text of Ganjam agrees with that of Gīrīnār.

There are also differences in the forms of some of the letters, and more especially in the *r*, which is a wavy or undulating line, instead of the rigidly straight upright stroke of the Khālsi and other texts. In this wavy form of the *r*, however, it agrees with the coins of Pantaleon and Agathokles, and with the short inscriptions on the Buddhist railings of Bodhi Gaya. The upper stroke of the *p* as well as

¹ See Plate XXX for a view of the rock, and Plates V, VI, and VII for its inscriptions.

² Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, VII, 1871-72.

³ In both of the published copies of this edict this word is written *Sammāpātīpati*, which Burnouf took for an improper abbreviation of *Sumana* 'Le Lotus,' p. 736. He suspected, however, that *Samana* might be a special orthography for *Samyaka*, "une bienveillance parfaite."

of the *s* is also occasionally bent or waved in a similar manner. The vowels *ā* and *e* are attached to the lower member of *m*, and the initial long *a* has the side stroke at the top instead of against the middle of the letter.

4.—DHAULI ROCK

The Dhauli rock inscription was discovered by Kittoe towards the close of 1837, at the very time when James Prinsep “had just groped his way through the Guṇār text,” and was in want of a second text for comparison. To his “surprise and joy,” he discovered that the Dhauli inscription was in substance a duplicate of the Guṇār edicts, although the language and alphabet of the two versions had “very notable and characteristic differences.”¹

The actual rock itself is named *Aśwastama*, but, from its being situated close to the village of Dhauli, this version of the edicts has always been called the Dhauli inscription. It is thus described by Kittoe:—

“The *Aśwastama* is situated on a rocky eminence forming one of a cluster of hills, three in number, on the south bank of the Dyah river, near to the village of Dhauli, and close to the north-west corner of the famous tank called Kōnsila-gring, said to have been excavated by Rāja Gangeswari Deva, King of Kaluṅga, in the 12th century.² The hills before alluded to rise abruptly from the plains, and occupy a space of about five furlongs by three. They have a singular appearance from their isolated position, no other hills being nearer than eight or ten miles. They are apparently volcanic and composed of unhewn breccia with quartzose rock intermixed. The northernmost hill may be about 250 feet at its highest or eastern end, on which is a ruined temple dedicated to Mahadeva. The other hills, or rather rocks, are less elevated.”

“The *Aśwastama* is situated on the northern face of the southernmost rock near its summit, the rock has been hewn and polished for a space of 15 feet long by 10 in height, and the inscription deeply cut thereon being divided into four tablets, the first of which appears to have been executed at a different period from the rest, the letters are much larger and not so well cut. The fourth tablet is encircled by a deep line, and is cut with more care than either of the others.”

“Immediately above the inscription is a terrace 16 feet by 14 (A), on the right side of which (as you face the inscription) is the fore-half of an elephant, 4 feet high, of superior workmanship, the whole is hewn out of the solid rock. There is a groove 4 inches wide by 2 in depth round three sides of the terrace, with a space of 3 feet left (a doorway?) immediately in front of the elephant, there are also two grooves, one on either side of the elephant on the floor and in the perpendicular face. These must have been intended probably to fix a wooden canopy.”

“There are also many broken caves in the rocks adjoining the *Aśwastama*, and the foundations of many buildings,—one in particular, immediately above the inscription, which may have been one of the *charīyas* or *śāḍpas* mentioned in the inscription.”

“The elephant does not seem to be an object of worship, though I was informed that one day in every year is appointed, when the Brahmins of the temples in the vicinity attend and throw water on it, and besmear it with red lead in honour of Ganesha.”³

The Asoka inscriptions at Dhauli are arranged in three parallel columns, of which the first eleven of the collected edicts occupy the whole of the middle column.

¹ Journal, Bengal Asiatic Society, VII, 158

² Journal, Bengal Asiatic Society, VII, 435, 436, 437

³ Journal, Bengal Asiatic Society, VII, 437

and one-half of the right column. Afterwards two local edicts were added, one completing the right-hand column and the other filling the whole of the left-hand column.¹ The latter has been taken by Prinsep as the first of these two separate edicts, although there can be no doubt that the former, from its position *in continuation* of the original edicts, was the first to be engraved, more especially as the duplicate version at Jaugada places it immediately above the other. The matter is not, perhaps, of much consequence, but it is right that it should be brought to notice in case of enquiry hereafter.

The Dhauī edicts are chiefly remarkable for the complete want of the letter *r*, which is always replaced by *l*, even in such a word as *Raja*, for which we have *Lāja*. This peculiarity was overlooked by Prinsep when he proposed to identify the *Tosali* of the two separate edicts with the *Tosali Metropolis* of Ptolemy, which is placed far to the north of the Ganges, instead of with his *Dosara* on the *Dosaron* river, which occupies the very position required. This *Tosali* in Katak agrees also with the position of the *Desarena Regio* of the Ptolemy, which lies between Masalia, or Masulpatam, and the mouths of the Ganges. These two Greek readings at once suggest the name of the Indian *Dasāras*, who are several times mentioned in the geographical lists of the *Mahābhārata*.² Perhaps the old name still remains in *Dosa* on the Koil river, in latitude 23° and longitude 84° 50'.

The opening sentence of No. 1 edict at Dhauī is lost, and as it certainly differed from the Shāhbāz-gaīhī, Khālsī and Gurnāi versions, it is fortunate that the Jaugada text affords the means of restoring the missing words.

Prinsep reads as follows —

(10 letters) *ghī savata*²

which may be compared with the opening of the Jaugada edicts—

Iyam dhammalipi Khepungalasi pavatasi

Here it will be found that there are exactly ten letters preceding the final syllable of *Khepungalasi*, which Prinsep read as *ghī*, but which is no doubt *sz*, as the two letters are easily mistaken in a mutilated inscription. So also are the two letters *s* and *p*, and for Prinsep's *savata*, plus one lost letter, I propose to read *pavatasi*, as in the Jaugada text. Then follow the words *Devānampiyena Priyadasina Lājina lekhapitā* in both texts. I therefore read the whole as follows: "This religious edict is promulgated by Raja Priyadasī, the beloved of the gods, to the people of the *Khepungala* hills." No such name is now known, but as it is common to both inscriptions, I conclude that it was the usual name for the mountain districts of Orissa.

The two separate edicts are local ones addressed to the rulers of *Tosali*. In the second edict the opening words are

Devānampiyasa vachanena Tosakīyam Kumālecha vataviya,

which Prinsep renders—

"By command of Devānampiya! It shall be signified to the Prince and the great officers in the city of *Tosali*."

¹ See Plate XXX for a view of the rock, and Plates VIII, IX and X for its inscriptions.

² See Wilson's *Vishnu Purana*, pp. 186, 187, 192.

Now, in the first edict there is mention of *Ujjeniya Kumāle*, which Prinsep translates as the young "Prince of Ujain," and whom he rightly identified with *Ujjenno*, the son of Asoka. But he erroneously supposed him to be a different person from Mahindo, whereas Ujjeniya was only another name for Mahindo, who was born whilst Asoka was governor of Ujain. By this identification we get a limit to the date of these inscriptions, for Mahindo became a Buddhist priest at twenty years of age,¹ after which he could not have continued in the government of Tosali. Now, Asoka was governor of Ujain for nine years immediately preceding his accession to the throne, from B C 272 to 263,² and as his marriage with Chetiya Devi only took place on his journey to Ujain, the birth of Mahindo cannot be fixed earlier than B C 271. He would, therefore, have been twenty years of age in B C 251 when he was ordained a priest, and thirty years of age when he became the head of a fraternity ten years later at the time of the assembly of the Third Buddhist Synod in B C 241. But B C 251 was the 12th year of Asoka's reign, which is the latest date of some of the edicts in the collected series engraved on the rocks. I conclude, therefore, that Mahindo was governor of Tosali before B C 251, and that the two separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada must have been put forth towards the end of that year. They are thus only a little later in date than the great body of the rock edicts, but several years earlier than the pillar edicts.

5 —JAUGADA ROCK

The Jaugada inscription is engraved on the face of a rock in a large old fort near the bank of the Rāshikulya river, about eighteen miles to the west-north-west of the town of Ganjam. The name is pronounced *Jaugodo* by the people of the country, and as *Jau* means "lac" in the Uīya language, the place is usually known as the "lac-fort." But my assistant, Mr J D Beglar, who visited the place to make the present copies of the inscriptions, suggests that the original name was *Jagata*, which by both Bengalis and Uīyas would be pronounced *Jogoto*, and from which it would be an easy step to *Jaugodo*, or the lac-fort.

When the name had become fixed, the next step was to find a legend to account for it, and so the following story came into being. The fort was made by Raja Kesari, who built the walls of "lac" instead of bricks, in order that an enemy's cannon balls might bury themselves harmlessly inside. Close by on the Rawalpili hill (about three miles south-west) lived another Raja who quarrelled with Kesari and besieged him for a long time in vain. At last a milkwoman, whose milk had been forcibly taken by one of the besieger's soldiers, being unable to obtain redress, angrily exclaimed, "You fools! you have strength to plunder poor people, but have not the sense to see that the 'lac-fort' can be taken with the greatest ease." On being questioned, she told the besiegers that the walls were composed of "lac," and that they had only to apply fire to them and to increase the flames with bellows, and the walls would come down at once. This was accordingly done and the "lac-fort" was taken. A somewhat different version of the

¹ Mahavanso, p 36, and Turnour in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, VII, 931, from the Dipavanso

² Bigandet "Legend of the Burmese Buddha," p 376. The Dipavanso, however, says that Mahindo was nine years old at his father's accession to the throne.

legend is given by Mr Harris According to him, "the name of lac-foit gave rise to a local tradition that the lofty walls and place were formed by materials impregnable, until the secret was betrayed by a milkmaid, and allowed the besiegers by the application of water, taking advantage of floods or freshes down the Rishikulya, to effect an entrance"¹

It is added that Raja Kesari cursed the woman whose babbling led to the loss of the fort. The curse took immediate effect, and the imprudent milkwoman was at once turned into stone, and to this day her statue is standing outside the walls of the fort In Mr Beglar's judgment, however, the petrified milkwoman is only an ordinary Satī-pillar, such as the aboriginal inhabitants of Chutia Nâgpur even now set up over the ashes of the dead Mr Beglar is also of opinion that the fort is "clearly of later date than the inscriptions," and is probably of the same age as the coins which are found in the milkwoman's mound These coins, which are evident imitations of the Indo-Scythian copper money, but without any inscriptions, must therefore belong to the end of the first century A D, a date which I had already assigned for them from their being found in company with leaden coins of the Andhra kings Gotamiputia and Yâdnya-Sri

Mr Beglar describes the groups of rocks inside the fort as picturesque, and such as would at once attract attention. The great inscription is engraved on a large high mass of rock which rises up vertically and faces the south-east, in the direction of people coming from the sea-coast

Some photographs of these inscriptions were taken in 1859 and forwarded to the Madras Government by Captain Haington, who described them as being "engraved upon a rock near the village of Naugâm in the Pubakonda Tâluk of the Ganjam district, about three miles from the tâluk station of Purotampur (or Puroshottampur) near the Rishikulya river" He calls the place *Joughar*, but as he describes the large square fortification which is plainly shown in the Indian Atlas Sheet of Ganjam, it is certain that the true name is *Jaugada*, or the *Jau-fort*

Mr Haington's photographs were sent to the Royal Asiatic Society, and from a memorandum by Mr Norris I learn that copies of the inscriptions were taken in 1850 by the present Sir Walter Elliot, who was perfectly aware that they contained only another version of Asoka's edicts, which had already been found at Shâlbâz-garhi, Gûnâr and Dhauri

In 1871 an effort was made by the Madras Government to obtain complete copies of these inscriptions both by impressions and by photography The paper impressions taken by pressure only, without ink, though tolerably legible at first, afterwards almost entirely disappeared, owing to the extreme dampness of the climate The photographs by Mr Minchin I have not seen, but I have received from the Madras Government lithographic copies of some hand-tracings by Mr Harris, which, taken altogether, are very good, but, like all such copies, they are here and there imperfect, and more particularly deficient in the two separate edicts, which it was more important to have minutely copied, as we possess only one other version of their text at Dhauri with which to compare them

¹ See Mr Harris's letter dated 26th August 1872, printed in the Proceedings of the Madras Government

The plates in the present volume have been reduced from Mr Beglar's paper impressions, one of which had all the fainter letters carefully pencilled over. After reduction they were compared with Mr Beglar's photographs, which afforded several corrections in vowel marks. Every letter has been twice examined by myself,—*first*, before inking in the pencilled reduction, and *second*, while writing out its text in Roman letters for comparison with the Dhauhi versions. I believe, therefore, that my plates present a very faithful copy of these inscriptions.¹ I have done my best to make them so, but I do not expect that they will be found absolutely perfect, as it is quite possible that some errors may have escaped notice.

The Jaugada inscriptions are written on three different tablets on the vertical face of the rock. As at Dhauhi, the letters are all of uniform size, and the lines are perfectly straight, and altogether these Orissa and Ganjam inscriptions are the most carefully and neatly engraved of all the rock edicts.

The first tablet contained the first five edicts, but about one-half has been utterly lost by the peeling away of the rock.

The second tablet comprised the next five edicts, namely, 6 to 10, to which was added the 14th or closing edict of the other versions. About one-third of this tablet has been lost by the peeling away of the rock.

The third tablet contained the two separate or additional edicts which are found at Dhauhi. These are less carefully engraved than the other two tablets, and they show, besides, some differences in the shapes of the letters, which certainly indicate a later date, as they are also found in the additional or later edicts of the Delhi pillar. One of these differences is the use of the *kh* with a large open circle at the bottom, instead of the usual dot or knob. In the Jaugada additional edicts both of these forms are used. Another marked difference is the position of the two side strokes which form the medial vowel *o*. In the older edicts the upper stroke is on the right hand, in the later edicts, both on the Delhi pillar and on the Jaugada rock, the upper stroke is on the left hand. There are differences, too, in the forms of *l* and *h*, but I cannot say that they are of later date than those of the earlier edicts.

In this version the opening of the 1st edict, which is injured at Dhauhi, is distinctly legible. The two additional words *Khepingatasi parvatasi*, which are inserted after *dhammalipi*, have been already noticed in my account of the Dhauhi rock. I presume that these two additional words give the general geographical name of the province, as the "*Khepingala Hills*," in which the two cities of *Tosali* and *Samâpâ* were situated. These are the two names which are found in the additional edicts, the former in the Dhauhi version, and the latter in the Jaugada version, the edicts themselves being addressed to the respective rulers of those places.

I have just discovered another instance of a local edict on the Allahabad pillar, which was addressed by Asoka to the rulers of Kosâmbi, a very large and famous city on the Jumna,² only thirty miles above Allahabad, and which was no doubt the capital of the province in which Allahabad was situated. Of *Samâpâ* I can find

¹ See Plates XI, XII, and XIII for these inscriptions.

² See Archaeological Survey of India, I, 301.

no trace in Ptolemy's map, nor in the rambling lists of names preserved by Pliny, but I presume that it may have some reference to the situation of the district on the great Chilka Lake

6 AND 7 —SEPARATE EDICTS—DHHAULI AND JAUGADA ROCKS

At Jaugada these two additional edicts are enclosed in a frame which separates them from the collected series of Asoka's edicts. At Dhauhi only one of these edicts is thus enclosed, the other being engraved to the left hand of the main collection of edicts. I have not thought it worth while to disturb Prinsep's arrangement of these two separate edicts, but there can be no doubt that his No 2, which is placed above his No 1 at Jaugada, was the first to be engraved. This conclusion might also have been derived from the relative positions of the two edicts on the Dhauhi rock, for there the main series of edicts occupies a column and a half of the whole mass of inscriptions, while the half column is completed by the addition of one of these separate edicts, while the other forms a complete column to the left hand of the main series of edicts. From their relative positions I conclude that the separate edict which follows the main series of edicts and completes the second column was the first to be engraved and that the other separate edict was then placed by itself on the left. This view is fully corroborated by the relative positions of these two edicts on the Jaugada rock. To prevent confusion, however, I think it best to adhere to Prinsep's numbering.

At Jaugada the separation of these two edicts is more distinctly marked by the accompaniment of the *Swastika* symbol at each of the upper corners of the upper inscription, and of the letter *m* at the upper corners of the lower inscriptions. By reading the latter in combination with the upright line of the surrounding frame which passes through it, we have the mystic word *Aum*. I am, therefore, inclined to look upon the *Swastika* as a propitious invocation, as its meaning imports,¹ while *Aum* is the well-known auspicious opening of all documents even at the present day. Both symbols are found upon many of the old Indian coins.

The geographical names mentioned in these separate edicts have been fully examined in my account of the Dhauhi and Jaugada rocks.

8 —SAHASARÂM ROCK

This new edict of *Devânampriya* is inscribed on the face of the rock near the top of the Chandan Pui hill which forms the extreme northern end of the Kaimur range. The hill takes its name from the shrine of Pui Chandan Shâhid, which is placed on the top. The inscription is found in an artificial cave a short distance below, which is generally known as the Chhâghdân, or "lamp" of the saint. The roof of the cave is formed by a large projecting mass of rock that has most effectually preserved the greater part of the inscription, which is in excellent order, except in three or four places where the rock has peeled off. The entrance, which is only

¹ *Swastika* is the name of the mystic cross, which is a monogram composed of the words *su x asti*, "it is well."

4 feet high, is to the west between two built walls. By making an opening in one of these walls, my assistant, Mr Beglar, obtained a good photograph of the inscription. This photograph compared with our paper impressions has furnished the copy published in the present volume.¹

The inscription consists of eight lines of well-formed letters, generally about one inch in height. It opens rather curtly with the words

Devānampīye hevaṃ ā (hā)

—"Devānampriya thus declares,"—following which just six letters have been lost. About the same number of letters has been lost in each of the next three lines, after which the inscription is complete to the end. At first sight it would appear as if the letter *r* was frequently used, but on examination it turns out that the single upright stroke, which occurs no less than thirteen times, is only a conventional mark covering a fault in the rock, and intended to point out that the spot was to be passed over in reading the inscription. It is certain that it cannot be the letter *r*, as *l* is used for *r* in the words *alodhe* and *chulathitike*, where the Rûpnâth text uses *arodhe* and *chrathitike*, besides which it is used in positions where it can have no meaning, as between the words *Jambudīpasī* and *ammisam*, where no letter is interposed in the two corresponding texts of Rûpnâth and Banât. A similar device has already been noticed in my account of the latter half of the Khâlsī inscription.

But the most interesting part of this record is the figured date which occurs in the first half of the 7th line. There are three figures which I read as 256. The same date occurs in the Rûpnâth version of this edict, but without the figure for hundreds. As the date of these inscriptions has been fully discussed in the Preface, it need not be examined again. It will be sufficient to state here that as these inscriptions give only the title of Devānampīya, I am disposed to assign them to Dasaratha Devānampīya, the grandson of Asoka, rather than to Devānampīya Priyadarsi, or Asoka himself.

9 —RUPNÂTH ROCK

The Rûpnâth rock is a single flinty block of dark-red sandstone lying at the foot of the Kaimur range of hills, just below the fertile plateau of Bahuriband. Here a small stream breaks over the crest of the Kaimur range, and, after three low falls, forms a deep secluded pool at the foot of the scarp. Each of these pools is considered holy, the uppermost being named after Râma, the next after Lakshman, and the lowest after Sîtâ. The spot, however, is best known by the name of Rûpnâth, from a lingam of Siva which is placed in a narrow cleft of the rocks on the right. There are similar falls and pools at Râm Tâl, a few miles to the southwest, where the Kâr river pours over the crest of the Kaimur range from the plateau of Saleya. This spot is also esteemed holy. An annual fair was formerly held at Rûpnâth on the *Sivarâtri*, in honour of Siva, but this has been discontinued since 1857. The lowermost pool, however, or Sîtâkund, which never dries up, still attracts a few pilgrims.

The edict of Asoka is inscribed on the upper surface of the rock, which has been worn quite smooth by people sitting upon it for hundreds of years at the annual fairs. It is now of a very dark dirty-red colour, and the inscription might easily escape observation. The lines follow the undulations of the rock, and are neither straight nor parallel with each other.¹ The inscription is 4½ feet long and 1 foot broad, and consists of six lines, of which the last has only five letters. With the exception of a few letters which are now very faint, the record is complete. It opens with the words

Devānampīye hevaṃ āhā

—"Devānampīya thus orders," omitting the name of the king, a curt style of announcement which is not found in any of the collected series of edicts. The same form, however, occurs in the later separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada, which may, perhaps, indicate that this Rūpnāth inscription belongs to a later date than that of the great collection of edicts. It uses the letter *ṛ*, in common with most of the old inscriptions in Central and Western India, as at Guntur, Sanchi and Bharhut.

Of the purport of the inscription I am not competent to offer an opinion, but I may point to the occurrence of the words *Sumipāka Sangha*, or *Sumhāla Sangha*, which are found twice in the first line, as indicating that the edict was addressed to the Buddhist Sangha, or assembly of *Sumipāka* or *Sumhāla*. In the second line occurs the well-known name of *Jambudīpa*, and the fifth line opens with the words *Sāla-thabhe*, *Sīla-thabha*, which seem to refer to "Sal-pillars and stone-pillars," on which the edicts were to be inscribed.

The date of 56 occurs at the end of the fifth line. The symbol for 50 is the same as that in the Sahasrām inscription, but the opening is turned to the left. Both forms are used indifferently in the Hodgson MSS from Nepal.² The omission of the figure for hundreds is not uncommon in Indian inscriptions.

10.—BAIRAT ROCK.

This inscribed rock lies at the foot of the Himsagn hill near Bairat, where the Pāndus are said to have lived during the greater part of their twelve years' exile. It is, therefore, more commonly known as the hill of the Pāndus, and a cave is still shown as the *Bhīm-guphā*, or "Cave of Bhīm." In November 1861 I examined all the rocks on the top of this hill very carefully in the hope of finding some inscriptions, but my search was in vain, and I was assured by the people that no inscriptions existed on the hill. My assistant, Mr. Culley, was, however, more fortunate, as he succeeded in discovering an inscription in Asoka characters on a huge isolated block standing at the foot of the hill. The following notice of his discovery is abridged from his own account, which I quote from his report now preparing for publication —

The Pāndus hill is a bare, black-looking, pyramidal-shaped, jagged-edged, peaked hill, composed entirely of enormous blocks of porphyritic and basaltic

¹ See Plate XIV.

² See Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series, VIII, 51, Plate

rock and hornblende gneiss, as if it had been built up by giants × × Some of the huge blocks of which the hill is composed have apparently at some very remote period rolled down on to the slope at the foot of the hill. One of these blocks stands immediately in front of the south side of the hill. In shape it is a great roughly-hewn cube, as big as a house, and some deep water-worn hollows on its perpendicular face, when seen at some distance, look like circular windows. Its actual dimensions are 21 feet in length from east to west, with a thickness of 15 feet and a height of 17 feet. The inscription occupies the lower part of the south face of the rock. It consists of eight lines, and approaches to within one foot of the ground on its left side. The letters average about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height. But the surface of the rock is rough, and has suffered much from the weathering of 2,000 years. A large portion of the middle part of the inscription has altogether gone, and the lesser part on the right is now separated by a blank space of 20 inches from the greater half on the left. This separation led Mr. Carlleyle to believe that there were two separate inscriptions, but a comparison with the more perfect texts at Sahasrām and Rūpnāth shows most conclusively that these two apparently distinct inscriptions are fragments of a single edict, of which the middle portion has been lost.¹

At the end of the inscription there are the traces of some large characters or symbols, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height. Mr. Carlleyle read them doubtfully as 315, but I can trace only two definite shapes amongst the confused mass of lines which appear in my own fresh impressions as well as in Mr. Carlleyle's original impressions and hand-copies. At first these did not attract my attention, but, on referring to them lately, I was struck by the very strong resemblance in the forms of these two symbols with those of the two numerical figures in the Rūpnāth text. On comparing all the impressions with Mr. Carlleyle's hand-copy, I am satisfied that these two broken and defaced characters are the same as those of the Rūpnāth inscription, and that they represent the date of 56, or, with the addition of the omitted hundreds, 256.

Mr. Carlleyle made another curious discovery at Bairāt, which, though perhaps not connected with this inscription, has certainly some connection with the rock on which it is engraved. Immediately in front of the rock there were two large boulder stones, one of them being 2 feet 6 inches long and 1 foot 6 inches broad. On removing these a layer of smaller boulder stones was found laid upon the earth. Here a fragment of pottery was found, which induced Mr. Carlleyle to dig further, until, at a depth of nearly 3 feet below the surface of the ground, he found four earthen vessels placed in a line on the same level. Two of these vessels were large and wide mouthed, the third was middle sized with a narrow neck, and the fourth was very small and very narrow in the mouth. All of them contained human bones. Mr. Carlleyle remarks that the boulder stones which were lying over these cinerary urns appeared to be *in situ*, and he is, therefore, inclined to believe that they "must have come into the position in which he found them, *jammed* against the rock, by the agency of some powerful flood, and consequently that the cinerary urns and bones may be of very great antiquity."

¹ See Plate XIV

My own opinion regarding these vessels is that they are most probably of later date than the inscription, as I conclude that the conspicuousness of the inscribed block may have led to the interment.

11 — SECOND BAIRAT ROCK

This inscription is engraved on a block of reddish grey granite, which was found by Captain Buit in 1837 on the top of a hill close to the ancient town of Bauât, forty-one miles nearly due north of Jaypur. Vanât, the capital of Matsya, is celebrated in Hindu legends as the abode of Raja Vnâta where the five Pândus spent their exile of twelve years from Dillî or Indraprastha. "The residence of Bhîm Pându is still shown on the top of a long, low, rocky hill about one mile to the north of the town. The hill is formed of enormous blocks of coarse gritty quartz, which are much weather-worn and rounded on all the exposed sides. Some of these blocks have a single straight face sloping inwards, the result of a natural split, of which advantage has been taken to form small dwellings by the addition of rough stone walls plastered with mud. Such is the Bhîm-gupha or 'Bhîm's cave,' which is formed by rough walls added to the overhanging face of a huge rock about 60 feet in diameter and 15 feet in height. Similar rooms, but of smaller size, are said to have been the dwellings of Bhîm's brothers. The place is still occupied by a few Brahmans, who profess to derive only a scanty substance from the offerings of pilgrims—a statement which is rather belied by their flourishing appearance. Just below Bhîm's cave a wall has been built across a small hollow to retain the rain water, and the fragments of rock have been removed from a fissure to form a tank about 15 feet long by 5 feet broad and 10 feet deep, but at the time of my visit, on the 10th November, it was quite dry."

The hill on which the inscription was found forms a conspicuous object about one mile to the south-west of the town. It is about 200 feet high, and is still known by the name of Bijak Pahâd, or "inscription hill," and the paved pass immediately beneath it, which leads towards Jaypur, is called Bijak Ghât. The mass of the hill is composed of enormous blocks of grey granite intersected with thick veins and smaller blocks of reddish or salmon-coloured granite. The ruins on the top of the hill consist of two contiguous level platforms, each 160 feet square, which are thickly covered with broken bricks and the remains of brick walls. The bricks are of large size, $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad and from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 inches thick. The western or upper platform is 30 feet higher than the eastern or lower one. In the centre of the upper platform there is a large mass of rocks which is said to have been dug into by the Mahârâja of Jaypur without any discovery being made. On examining this mass it appeared to me that it must have been the core around which a brick stûpa had been constructed, and that the relic chamber would have been formed in a crevice or excavation of the rock.

The approach to this platform was on the south side, where I traced the remains of a large entrance with a flight of stone steps. On all four sides there

are ruins of brick walls which once formed the chambers of the resident monks of this large monastery

"In the middle of the lower platform there is a square chamber which was laid open by the Mahārāja's excavations. From its size I judged it to be the interior of a temple. Close beside it, on the east, there is a gigantic mass of rock, 73 feet in length, which is familiarly known amongst the people by the name of Tōp, or 'The Cannon,' to which at a distance it bears some resemblance. This rock slopes gently backwards, as the upper end projects considerably beyond the base, its appearance is not unlike that of the muzzle of a great gun, somewhat elevated and thrust forward beyond the wheels of its carriage. Under this part of the rock a small room has been formed by the addition of rough stone walls after the fashion of the chamber on the opposite hill called Bhîmgupr, or 'Bhîm's cave.' On all four sides of the platform there are the remains of brick walls which once formed the cells of the resident monks.

"These ruins on the Bijak hill I take to be the remains of two of the eight Buddhist monasteries which were still in existence at the time of Hwen Thsang's visit in A. D. 634. Their Buddhist origin is undoubted, as the famous inscription which was found on the lower platform distinctly records the belief of the donor in the ancient Buddhist Triad of Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha.¹ These two monasteries, therefore, must have been in existence at least as early as the time of Asoka in 250 B. C., when the inscription was engraved. As the proclamation is specially addressed to the Buddhist assembly of Magadha, we must suppose, as Burnouf has suggested, that copies were sent to all the greater Buddhist fraternities for the purpose of recording the enduring firmness of the king's faith in the law of Buddha."

This important inscription is the only one of all Asoka's edicts which mentions the name of Buddha, once alone as *Bhagavata Buddha*, or "the divine Buddha," and in another place in conjunction with *Dharma* and *Sangha*. The bare mention of these names was sufficient to extort from Wilson the reluctant admission that "Piṇḍarasi, *whoever he may have been*, was a follower of Buddha."

The text has had the good fortune to have been revised and translated by Burnouf as well as by Wilson.² Their texts were both derived from the same impressions which were made by the original discoverer, Captain Buit. The block of granite is now deposited in the museum of the Bengal Asiatic Society immediately beneath James Prinsep's bust. From it I have made a fresh impression on which my own reading of the text is founded. The only differences requiring notice are *pāsāde*, "temples," for *pasāde*, "favour," *chilathitike* for *chilasatitike*, and *bhikkhu* and *bhikkhuni* for *bhikkha* and *bhikkhami*. The early transcribers did not recognise the vowel *u*, which is attached to the foot of the *lh* as a prolongation of the upright stroke. But the presence of the vowel is always indicated by a dot or knob which separates it from the stem of the consonant. In later times this vowel was formed by a horizontal stroke at the right foot of the letter. If the new reading of *golane-cha pāsāde-cha* be correct, the translation might be rendered as "circular railings and temples;" but as I do not feel absolutely certain that the first long *ā* of *pasāde* may not be an accidental mark, I do not wish to press its acceptance.

Wilson has noticed the repetition of the word *bhante*, which occurs no less than six times in this short inscription. "Burnouf renders it throughout by

¹ See Plate XXXI for the map of India under Asoka in the position of Bairāt. The inscription itself is given in Plate XV.

² Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, XVI, 357, and Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi, p. 725.

seigneurs, 'Sirs,' considering it as the Piākṛit form of the Sanskrit *bhavantāḥ*, the plural of the honorific pronoun *bhavan*, 'your honour, your reverence,' in which Wilson was at first disposed to concur, but afterwards had reason to doubt its accuracy"¹ But in this case Wilson's guess was only a random shot, while Burnouf's explanation was a well-directed aim which hit very near the mark For the true original of *bhante* is *bhadantāḥ*, or "Reverend Sirs" This title is said to have been instituted by Buddha himself in his last instructions to the Rahans as to the attention and regard they were to pay each other

"Let those," said the teacher, "who are more advanced in dignity and years of profession, call those that are then inferiors by their names, that of their family, or some other suitable appellation, let the inferiors give to their superiors the title *Bante*""²

Here we see that the term is one of respect addressed to the priesthood, but its actual derivation I owe to Professor Childers,³ who explains *Bhante* as

"a contracted form of *Bhadante* It is used as a reverential term of address, 'Lord, Reverend Sir,' and is the proper address of Buddha, of Buddhist priests, of Rishis, Tāpasīs, &c"

We now learn from the Banāt inscription that this form of address to the Buddhist priesthood was certainly as old as the reign of Asoka

At the end of the 5th line are the words *Upatisa pasine echa Lāghulo vāde* which Burnouf renders as—

"la speculation d' *Upatisa* et l' instruction de *Rāhula*,"

conceiving the text to contain the names of Upatissa, one of Sākya's principal disciples, and of Rāhula his son On this Wilson remarks—

"The reading of the first is doubtful, the initial may be an *u*, but it is indistinct, and the third syllable is more like *tā* than *ti*"

In reply to these doubts I can only say that, after having examined the inscription itself very carefully, I found the initial letter *u* was quite distinct, and that the character *ti* was one of the clearest in the whole inscription. Wilson's remarks on the interpretation of the passage are more to the point

"*Pasine* M Burnouf would connect with *pasya*, 'behold,' as if alluding to the views or doctrines of Upatissa, but, in that case, we should have *Upatisasa*, not *Upatisa*, and if we could suppose the insertion of an 's' after *tā* to be a blunder, it would give us *upatāpasine* for *upatapaswinah*, 'inferior or pretended ascetics' For *e cha lāghulovāde* M Burnouf refers *avāde* to *avaiāda*, 'instruction,' but it would rather imply reproof, but, as M Burnouf indicates there is a *sūtra* of the Mahāvânso, headed *Rāhulovāda*, or as translated by Turnour, 'admonitory discourse' addressed by Buddha to Rāhula, which is no doubt in favour of M Burnouf's rendering At the same time it may be allowable to give it a different construction and signification, and to render it *laghu loka vāda*, 'the light or censorious language of the world' a sense which would agree with what follows if we explain *musavācham* as M Burnouf proposes, 'doctrines fausses' The next word, *adhigichya*, may be an error for *adhigachya*, the Piākṛit form of *adhigatya*, having gone over, or having overcome, or refuted, *rejeté*

"The following passage is intelligible enough, and may be connected with the preceding *Bhagavatā Budhena bhāsīte etāni, bhante, dhamma paṭiyayāni icchāmi*, 'I affirm these things, said by the divine Buddha, and desire (them to be considered) as the precepts of the law'"

¹ Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, XVI, 361

² Bishop Bigandet's Legend of the Burmese Buddha, 2nd edit, p 316

³ Pali Dictionary, *in voce*

Wilson again refers to Burnouf's readings of Upatissa and Râhula, towards the end of his paper in the following words

"Although, therefore, unable to offer an entirely satisfactory version of this inscription, and while hesitating to admit it as evidence, as M. Burnouf is disposed to regard it, of the existence at the time of the principal Buddhist authorities, the Vinaya Sûtras, Gâthas, and the writings of Upatissa and Râhula, we cannot refuse to accept it as decisive of the encouragement of Buddhism by Priyadasi, the indications of which are sufficiently positive, setting aside the apocryphal allusions to Upatissa and Râhula"

Long after the preceding notice was written I saw in Mr Burgess's Indian Antiquary a new version of this important inscription by Professor Kern, in which I am glad to find that this learned scholar upholds the true readings of *Upatissa* and *Laghulo*. His transliteration and version of the edict will be found immediately following those of Wilson and Burnouf ¹

12 KHANDAGIRI ROCK

The Khandagiri rock inscription was first published by Stirling, but it remained unread until a more perfect copy was made by Kittoe for James Prinsep. Kittoe thus describes the position of the rock and the places around it²

"The hillocks of Khandagiri and Udayagiri form part of a belt of sandstone rock, which, skirting the base of the granite hills of Ouissa, extends from Autgiri and Dekkunâl (in a southerly direction) past Kurda and towards the Chilka Lake, occasionally protruding through the beds of laterite

"Khandagiri is four miles north-west of Bhubaneswar, and nineteen south-west of Katak. The two rocks are separated by a narrow glen about 100 yards in width

"Khandagiri has but few caves in the summit. There is a Jain temple of modern construction, it having been built during the Maharatta rule. There are traces of former buildings, I am inclined, therefore, to think that the present temple occupies the site of a Chartyr."

By Stirling it is described as occupying "the overhanging brow of a large cavern"³

The very coarse nature of the rock, a coarse sandstone grit, prevented Kittoe from taking an impression of this inscription, and he was obliged to be content with a hand-copy, a work of great labour, which he performed with remarkable success. The present copy has been reduced from a large photograph of a plaster cast taken by Mr. Locke. Many of the letters are very clear, but there are numbers of others that are very indistinct from the abrasion of the rock. Every letter has been carefully compared with two copies of the photographs, as well as with Kittoe's hand-copy, and I believe that the present copy is as perfect a facsimile as can now be made ⁴

Regarding its alphabet, Prinsep remarks ⁵

"One prominent distinction in the alphabetical character would lead to the supposition of its posteriority to that of the *lats*, but that the same is observable at Gunâi. I allude to the adoption of a separate symbol for the letter *r* instead of confounding it with *l*. Hence also it should be later than the Gaya inscription, which spells *Dasaratha* with an *l* (*dasalathena*). There are a few

¹ See The Indian Antiquary, V, 257, for September 1876

² Researches, Bengal Asiatic Society, LV

³ Journal, Bengal Asiatic Society, VI, 1079

⁴ See Plate XVII for the copy of this inscription

⁵ Journal, Bengal Asiatic Society, V, 1080

minor changes in the shape of the *i*, *t*, *p* and *g*, and in the mode of applying the vowel marks centrally on the letters, as in the *m* of *namo*, the letter *gh* is also used, but in other respects the alphabet accords entirely with its prototype, and is decidedly anterior to the Samhadri cave inscription."

I fully agree with Prinsep that this record must be later than the Asoka edicts, and earlier than the inscriptions in the caves of Western India. I think that it may be placed as early as from B. C. 200 to 175, as there is no appearance of heads, or *mātras*, to any of the letters. I do not infer, as Prinsep does, that the use of the letter *r* shows it to be of later date than Asoka, as I believe that the want of the letter was a peculiarity of the Magadha dialect, which was copied in the Dhauhi and Jaugada versions from the original text supplied from the capital of Pataliputra. At the same time the use of the letter *r* throughout this great inscription of Aira Raja, as well as in *all* the cave inscriptions of Khandagiri and Udayagiri, would seem to show that the dialect of Orissā differed from that of Magadha.

All who take an interest in Indian antiquities will agree with James Prinsep as to the great value of this record, which he was disposed to think was "perhaps the most curious that has yet been disclosed to us".¹ He offers a graceful apology for his imperfect translation, but at the same time is satisfied that "there can be little doubt of the main facts, that the caves were executed by a Buddhist Raja of Kalinga (named AIRA?) who, at the age of twenty-four, after having pursued his studies regularly for nine years, wrested the Government from some usurper, distributed largesses bountifully, repaired the buildings, dug tanks, &c." "Each change of inclination is consistently followed by a description of corresponding conduct, and we have throughout a most natural picture of a prince's life, wavering between pleasure and learning, between the Brahmanical and Buddhist faith, then doubtless the subject of constant contention. The history embraces his alliance with the daughter of a hill chieftain, and perchance even his death, though this is very unlikely."

13 DEOTEK SLAB

For the knowledge of this inscription I am indebted to Mr R. Egeiton of the Civil Service. The inscribed slab is a solitary block now lying in a field at Deotek, a small village about fifty miles to the south-east of Nāgpur. The spot has been visited by my assistant, Mr J. D. Beglar, from whose pencilled impressions the accompanying copy of the inscription has been made. There are two distinct inscriptions on the slab, one of which is of a much later date than the other. This is also given in the plate, as it confirms the reading of a geographical name contained in the older record. This name in both inscriptions is *Chukambari*.²

The stone slab, which is 4 feet long by 2½ feet broad, has been at some previous period converted into an *argha* or receptacle for a *lingam*. The hollow channel for carrying off the water poured over the lingam has been cut right through the middle of the later inscription.

¹ J. A. B. and Asiatic Society, VI. 1081-55.

² See Plate XV for both of these inscriptions.

The earlier inscription is dated, but the year is unfortunately lost, and I can only fix its date approximately from the style of the characters as about B C 100

In the later inscription there is mention of a king named Rudra Sena, whom I take to be one of the Kailakila Yavanas of Vākātaka. The Seon copper-plate inscription gives a genealogy of the early kings of Vākātaka, of whom the 2nd and 4th bear the name of Rudra Sena. There is a date, which I read as 200, or A D 278, and as this is said to be the eighteenth year of the reign of King Piavara Sena, son of Rudra Sena 2nd, the father's accession may be placed in A D 230, and that of the great-grandfather Rudra Sena 1st in 170 A D. From the early forms of some of the characters, I prefer the reign of Rudra Sena 1st, or the latter end of the 2nd century A D, for the date of the Deotek inscription. The interval between the dates of the two inscriptions will thus be upwards of 250 years, which certainly does not appear to be too great for the very wide differences in their alphabetical characters.

If I am right in identifying the Rudra Sena of the second Deotek inscription with one of the Rudra Senas of *Vākātaka*, then *Chikambari* must have been in the Vākātaka territory, and would have been either the ancient name of the district or that of its principal town. No such name is now known. The chief town in this part of the country at the present day is Pauni, which is an old fortified place with several ancient temples.

CAVE INSCRIPTIONS.

CAVES OF BARÂBAR AND NÂGÂRJUNI IN MAGADHA OR BIHAR

BARÂBAR CAVES

THE famous caves of Barâbar and Nâgârajuni are situated sixteen miles due north of Gaya, or nineteen miles by the road, in two separate groups of granite hills on the left or west bank of the Phalgu river. By the people these caves are usually called *Sâtghara*, or "the seven houses," although this name is by some restricted to two of the caves in the Barâbar group. But as there are four caves in the Barâbar hills, and three caves in the Nâgârajuni hills, or altogether "seven caves," I think that the name must belong to the whole number.¹

The Barâbar caves are named as follows —1, *Sudâma-Gupha*, or "Sudâma's cave," is a large room, $32\frac{3}{4}$ feet long by 19 feet wide. The roof is vaulted, and the whole of the interior is quite plain, but highly polished. At one end there is an inner room, nearly circular, with a hemispherical domed roof. The walls are $6\frac{3}{4}$ feet high to the springing of the vault, which has a rise of $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet, making the total height $12\frac{1}{4}$ feet. The doorway, which is of Egyptian form, is sunk in a recess $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet square and 2 feet deep. On the east wall of this recess there is an inscription of two lines,² which records the dedication of the *Nigoha* cave by Raja Piyadasi (or Asoka) in the twelfth year of his reign, or B C 251. An attempt has been made to obliterate the greater part of this inscription with a chisel, but, owing to the great depth of the letters, the work of destruction was not an easy one, and the deeply-cut lines of the original letters, with the exception, perhaps, of one at the end, are still distinctly traceable at the bottom of the holes made by the destroyer's chisel.

2 The *Viswa-gopur*, or "Viswa's hut," also consists of two rooms, an outer apartment 14 feet long by 8 feet 4 inches broad, which is polished throughout, and an inner room 11 feet in diameter, which is rough and unfinished. On the right-hand wall there is an inscription of four lines, which records the dedication of the cave by Raja Piyadasi in the twelfth year of his reign, or B C 251. The last five letters have been purposely mutilated, but are still quite legible.³

3 The *Karna Chopâr*, or "Karna's hut," is a single-vaulted room $10\frac{3}{4}$ feet high and $33\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by 14 feet broad. The whole of the interior is quite plain, but

¹ See my detailed account of all these caves in *Archæological Survey of India*, I, 45. See also Major Kittere in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, XVI, 405.

² See Plate XVI, No 1.

³ See Plate XVI, No 2.

polished On the west side of the entrance, in a slightly sunken tablet, there is an inscription of five lines, which records the dedication of the cave by Raja Piyadasi in the nineteenth year of his reign, or 244 B C The inscription being fully exposed to the weather has been very much worn, so that it is very difficult to make out the letters satisfactorily¹

4 The *Lomās Rishi Gupha*, or “Cave of Lomās Rishi,” is the fellow of the Sudâma cave, both as to the size and arrangement of its two chambers But the whole of the circular room has been left rough, and both the floor and the roof of the outer apartment are unfinished The straight walls of this room are polished, but the outer wall of the circular room is only smoothed and not polished The chisel-marks are still visible on the floor, as well as on the vaulted roof which has only been partially hewn The work would appear to have been abandoned on reaching a deep fissure in the roof, which forms one of the natural cleavage lines of the rock The entrance to this cave is sculptured, but the existing inscriptions are not older than the Gupta period I infer, however, from the polished walls that the cave was actually excavated about the Asoka period.

NÂGÂRJUNI CAVES

5 The *Vapiya* cave is so named in its own inscription It has a small porch 6 feet long by $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad, from which a doorway, not quite 3 feet wide, leads to the principal room, which is $16\frac{3}{4}$ feet long by $11\frac{1}{4}$ feet broad The roof is vaulted and rises to $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet The whole of the walls are highly polished On the left side of the porch there is an inscription of four lines, which records that the cave was given to the Bhadantas as a dwelling-place by Dasaratha, the beloved of the gods, in the beginning of his reign² This prince was the grandson of Asoka, and as his father reigned only eight years, Dasaratha's accession must have taken place in B C 218 The characters of this inscription, and of two others about to be described, retain the Asoka forms unchanged, but they are only about half the size of those of Asoka's Barâbar cave inscriptions

6 The *Gopila* cave is so named in its own inscription, which is engraved on the outside just above the entrance This is the largest of the Magadha caves, being 46 feet 5 inches long by 19 feet 2 inches broad, with a vaulted roof $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height Both of the ends are semicircular The whole of the interior is highly polished, but quite plain The inscription of this cave is word for word the same as the last, with the single exception of the name³ It therefore belongs to the same date of 218 B C

7 The *Vadathi* cave is so named in its own inscription It is situated in a cleft of the rock to the west of the Vapiya cave The entrance to the cave, which lies in this gap, is a mere passage, only 2 feet 10 inches in width, and 6 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, with a mean length of $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet On the right side of the passage there is an inscription of four lines, which, with the exception of the name, is word

¹ See Plate XVI, No 3

² See Plate XVI

³ See Plate XVI

for word the same as the two preceding inscriptions of Raja Dasarattha¹ Its date is therefore 218 B C

In two of the Asoka inscriptions the caves are said to be situated in the "*Khalatī* or *Khalanti* hills" *Khalatika paratasi* Burnouf has most ingeniously referred the name to the Sanskrit *Slkhalatika*, "slippery," which agrees with Kittoe's description of the "steep and *slippery* face" of the rock² My own account of these hills, which was noted on the spot in 1861, makes use of the same terms —

"The principal entrance to the valley lies over large rounded masses of granite, now worn smooth and *slippery* by the feet of numerous pilgrims³

The slipperiness, indeed, was so great that I found it convenient to take off my shoes Hence Burnouf's derivation of the name of *Khalatika* from *Slkhalatika*, "*slippery*," is fully borne out by the character of the hills themselves⁴ But without the initial *S* the name might be connected with *Khala*, "low, vile, bad," as an abusive epithet, which the Brahmins were so fond of bestowing on the aboriginal races, and from which the Burmese might have derived their name of *Kalā*, which they apply to all Indians with such contemptuous tones

As the two groups of the Barābar and Nāgājūni hills occupy a very conspicuous position in ancient Magadha, lying, as they do, on the high road from Bodhi Gaya to Patna, and in sight of the high road to Nālanda, it seems possible that they may have given their name to the people who occupied the country round about them In this case the people of the *Khalatika* and *Khalanti* hills might be identified with the *Kalatu* or *Kalantu* of Herodotus, and the *Kalatæ* of Hekateus⁵ The latter simply calls them an Indian nation, but the former describes them as practising the peculiar rite of eating their parents In another place he speaks of the Æthiopians as eating the same "grain" (*spermatē*) as the Kalantu But as he has not said anything about the kind of grain which the Kalantu ate, various emendations of the text have been proposed, such as *sēmatē*, &c I think, however, that *sōmatē* is preferable, and that the father of history was guilty of a grim joke in describing the Æthiopians as eating the same "flesh" as the Kalantu Beyond the Kalantu—that is, further to the eastward—lived the Padæi, who had the strange custom of killing and eating all the old and weakly persons Perhaps they may be identified, as I have before suggested, with the people living on the *Padda* river, or lower course of the Ganges, and if so, this identification would very much strengthen that of the *Kalantu* with the people of the *Khalatika* or *Khalanti* hills

KHANDAGIRI CAVES IN KATAK

The inscriptions in these caves were first made known by Kittoe, who thus describes their position⁶ —

"The hillocks of Khandagiri and Udayagiri form part of a belt of sandstone rock, which, skirting the base of the granite hills of Ouissa, extends from Autghar Dekkunal in a southerly

¹ See Plate XVI

² Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, XVI, 405

³ Archaeological Survey of India, I, 42

⁴ Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi, Appendices, p. 779

⁵ Herodotus, III, 38 and 97 Hekateus quoted by Stephanus Byzantinus, *in voce*

⁶ Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society VI, 1079

direction past Kūṭṭi, and towards the Chilka Lake * * Khandagiri is four miles north-west of Bhubaneswar, and nineteen miles south-west of Katik. The two rocks are separated by a narrow glen, about 100 yards in width * * Khandagiri has but few caves on the summit * * Udayagiri is entirely perforated with small caves on its southern brow. The natives have a tradition that there were formerly 752, inclusive of those now called *Laṭindra Kesarī naur*. A great many still remain perfect. None are of any size, they are mostly small chambers, about 6 feet by 4 and from 4 to 6 feet high, with verandahs in front and small doorways to them hewn out of the solid rock. Several are cut out of detached blocks in fantastic shapes, such as the 'Snake Cave' and 'Tiger Cave,' &c."

The short inscriptions in these caves are of little interest, except Nos 6 and 7, which certainly refer to Raja Aira and his family. Prinsep has read the opening of No. 6 as *VERASA Mahārājasa Kalingadī patino*, for which I propose to substitute *AIRASA Mahārājasa Kalingadī patino*. The short inscription, No. 7, over a small door in the same cave is read by Prinsep as *Kumāro Vattakasa lonam*, but the correct reading seems to be *Kumāro Vaddakasa lenam*—that is, "The cave of Prince Vaddaka," or perhaps *Vaduka*. Here, then, we have most probably the name of one of the sons of Raja Aira, who added another small room to his father's original cave. The age of these caves will, therefore, be about B. C. 200.

No. 8 is unfortunately incomplete, otherwise it would most probably have been interesting, as it also refers to the Rajas of Kalinga. For my copy of the text I have had the advantage of a large photograph of a plaster cast taken by Mr. H. H. Locke. There are several important differences between Prinsep's readings and mine.

RAMGARH CAVES IN SIRGUJA.

The two inscribed caves in the Ramgarh hill in Sirguja were first made known by Colonel Ouseley¹. They have also been described by Colonel Dalton². But the inscriptions themselves were first published by Mr. Ball of the Geological Survey³. The copies given in the present volume are taken from photographs and paper impressions made by Mr. Beglar in December 1875⁴. I was especially anxious to obtain good copies of these inscriptions, as the copies made by Mr. Ball gave the name of the "*Thera Devadata*," and I thought it very probable that these few lines might prove to be records of some followers of the heretical school of Devadata, the cousin and opponent of Buddha. This, however, is not the case, for the name is not Devadata, but Devadarsin. But these inscriptions are otherwise interesting from the use of the palatal sibilant ś, which occurs no less than five times in the second inscription. This record was engraved by a sculptor named *Devadina* for a *Srutanuka* named Devadarsin. The letter *l* is used for *r* in the last word of the inscription *lupa*, which I take to be the well-known *rūpa*. A very full account of the caves is given by Colonel Dalton.

¹ Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, XVII, p. 66

² Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, XXXIV, Part II, p. 26

³ Indian Antiquary, September 1873, p. 243

⁴ See Plate XI for these Inscriptions

PILLAR INSCRIPTIONS.

1—DELHI PILLAR *from Sucālik*

THE inscribed pillars of Asoka have long been known to Europeans owing to the favourable positions which they occupy in the very heart of his empire. Of these the best known, and the earliest to be noticed by Europeans, is the Delhi Pillar, commonly known as Firoz Shah's Lāt. According to Shams-i-Sirāj, a contemporary of Firoz, this pillar was brought from a place "on the bank of the Jumna, in the district of Salora, not far from Khuziābād, which is at the foot of the mountains ninety kos from Delhi"¹. Owing to the lamentable uncertainty of the Persian character in the expression of proper names, the name of the place from whence the pillar was brought may be variously read as Tobria, Topar, Topera, Toprusuk, Tohera, Tameira, and Nahera².

The distance from Delhi and the position at the foot of the mountains point out the present Khuziābād on the Jumna, just below the spot where the river issues from the lower range of hills, as the place indicated by Shams-i-Sirāj. Salora is perhaps Sidhora, a large place only a few miles to the west of Khuziābād. From the village where it originally stood, the pillar was conveyed by land on a truck to Khuziābād, from whence it was floated down the Jumna to Firozābad, or new Delhi. From the above description of the original site of this pillar, I conclude that the village from whence it was brought was perhaps the present Paota, on the western bank of the Jumna, and twelve miles in a direct line to the north-east of Khuziābād. Now, in this immediate neighbourhood on the western bank of the Jumna, and at a distance of sixty-six miles from Thanesar, Hwen Thsang places the ancient capital of Siughna, which was even then (A. D. 630—640) in ruins, although the foundations were still in existence. The Chinese pilgrim describes Siughna as possessing a large Vihār and a grand Stūpa of Asoka's time, containing relics of Buddha, besides many other stūpas of Sāṃputra, Maudgalyāyana, and other holy Buddhists. The village of Topar, which was the original site of Firoz Shah's pillar, was certainly within the limits of the ancient kingdom of Siughna, and I think it probable that in the word Suk, which is appended to one of the various readings of the name of the village of Topar, we still have a fair approximation to Sughan, the popular form of the Sanskrit Siughna.

¹ Journal of the Archaeological Society of Delhi, I, 71. Shams-i-Sirāj was twelve years old when these pillars were set up by Firoz.

² Journal of the Archaeological Society of Delhi, I, pp. 29 and 75. See also H. M. Elliot's *Mul Muhammadan Historians*, by Dowson, III, p. 350, where the name of the village is given as Tobra.

When the pillar was removed from its original site, a large square stone was found beneath it, which was also transported to Delhi¹

This stone was again placed beneath the pillar in its new situation on the top of a three-storied building called Firoz Shah's Kotla, where it may now be seen, as a gallery has been pierced through the solid masonry immediately beneath the base of the pillar. According to Shams-i-Suâj, the whole length of the shaft was 32 *gaz*, of which 8 *gaz* were sunk in the building. As the pillar at present stands, I found the total height to be 42 feet 7 inches, of which the sunken portion is only 4 feet 1 inch. But the lower portion of the exposed shaft to a height of 5 feet is still rough, and I have little doubt, therefore, that the whole of the rough portion, 9 feet in length, must have been sunk in the ground on its original site. But according to Shams-i-Sirâj, even more than this, or one-fourth of its whole length, that is, 10 feet 8 inches,—was sunk in the masonry of Firoz Shah's Kotla. This I believe was actually the case, for on the west side of the column there still remain *in situ* the stumps of two short octagonal granite pillars that would appear to have formed part of a cloister or open gallery around a fourth storey, which cannot have been less than 6½ or 7 feet in height. I conclude, therefore, that the statement of Shams-i-Suâj is quite correct.

When the pillar was at last fixed, the "top was ornamented with black and white stone work surmounted by a gilt pinnacle, from which no doubt it received its name of *Mindâr Zarin*, or 'Golden Pillar'." This gilt pinnacle was still in its place in A. D. 1611, when William Finch entered Delhi, as he describes the 'stone pillar of *Bimsa* (or Blum-sen), which, after passing through three several storeys, rising 21 feet above them all, having on the top a globe surmounted by a crescent.'² The 21 feet of this account are probably the same as the 24 *gaz* of the other, the *gaz* being only a fraction less than 16½ inches.

The "Golden Pillar" is a single shaft of pale pinkish sandstone, 42 feet 7 inches in length, of which the upper portion, 35 feet in length, has received a very high polish, while the remainder is left quite rough. Its upper diameter is 25 3 inches, and its lower diameter 38 8 inches, the diminution being 39 inch per foot. Its weight is rather more than 17 tons. In its dimensions it is more like the Allahabad pillar than any other, but it tapers much more rapidly towards the top, and is therefore less graceful in its outline.

There are two principal inscriptions on Firoz Shah's pillar, besides several minor records of pilgrims and travellers, from the first centuries of the Christian era down to the present time. The oldest inscriptions for which the pillar was originally erected comprise the well-known edicts of Asoka, which were promulgated in the middle of the third century B. C. in the ancient Pâli or spoken language of the day. The alphabetical characters, which are of the oldest form that has yet been found in India, are most

¹ A similar large square stone was found under the Pahlidpur pillar when it was removed to the grounds of Queen's College at Benares.

² Kerr's Voyages and Travels, IV, 123

clearly and beautifully cut, and there are only a few letters of the whole record lost by the peeling off of the surface of the stone. The inscription ends with a short sentence, in which King Asoka directs the setting up these monoliths in different parts of India as follows ¹

"Let this religious edict be engraved on stone pillars (*sila thambha*) and stone tablets (*sila phalaka*) that it may endure for ever "

In this amended passage we have a distinct allusion to the rock inscriptions, as well as to the pillar inscriptions. The record consists of four distinct inscriptions on the four sides of the column facing the cardinal points, and of one long inscription immediately below, which goes completely round the pillar. I may mention that the word *Ajalānāni*, at the end of the seventh line south face, was not omitted "accidentally," as James Prinsep supposed, by the original engraver, but has been lost by the peeling away of the stone for about four inches. The vowel *i* of the final letter is still quite distinct. The penultimate word on the eastern face is not *agnim*, as doubtfully read by Prinsep, but *abhyum*, and, as he rightly conjectured, it is the same word that begins the ninth line. The last word in the eleventh line which puzzled Prinsep is not *atikata*, but *atikantam*, the same as occurs near the beginning of the fifteenth line.

The last ten lines of the eastern face, as well as the whole of the continuous inscription round the shaft, are peculiar to this pillar. Their position alone declares them to be an after addition. But there is also a marked difference in the appearance of the letters of this part of the inscription which shows that it must have been engraved at a later date than the preceding edicts. The whole of the additional matter is executed in thinner and less carefully formed letters, many of which have a sloping or cursive form that is not to be found in any one of the five examples or the earlier inscriptions. The vowel marks also are generally sloping instead of being horizontal or perpendicular. Some of them are, besides, either differently formed or differently attached. Thus the *o*, which in the older edicts is formed by two horizontal side strokes, one at top to left, and one lower down to right, has now become either a single continuous stroke across the top of the consonant, or has the positions of the two separate strokes reversed, the upper one being to the right and the lower one to the left. So also the vowel *u*, which in the earlier edicts is a horizontal stroke at the right foot of the letters *ch* and *dh*, has now become a perpendicular stroke attached to the same point. The letter *t* is formed of only two strokes instead of three, the longer one sloping to the left and the shorter one to the right. I observe also that the vowel *u*, in *anu*, has been shifted from the right end of the horizontal stroke of the *n* to a point midway between the end and the junction of the perpendicular stroke. As all these differences in the forms of the letters begin in the middle of the inscription on the east face, it seems absolutely certain that this portion of the edicts, as well as the still lower portion round the shaft, must have been engraved at a later date than the upper half.

¹ See James Prinsep in Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1837, p. 609. He reads *sila dhalakani* instead of *phalakani*, which is quite distinct on the pillar. See Plates LVIII, LX, and LX of this volume.

2 —DELHI PILLAR—from *Murat*

The second of Asoka's Delhi pillars according to Shams-i-Sunâj was brought from Mnat by Fuz Shah, and set up near the Kushak Shukâr or "Hunting Palace," which we know was situated on the ridge to the north-west of the modern city. According to the popular belief, this pillar was thrown down by an accidental explosion of a powder magazine in the reign of Farokhsî, 1713 to 1719 A. D. Padre Tieffenthaler, who visited Delhi towards the middle of last century, saw this pillar lying in five pieces on the top of the ridge, beside a square pedestal of large stones. He also ascribes its destruction to gunpowder¹. There the five pieces remained undisturbed for upwards of a century, when the inscribed portion was sent down to Calcutta to the Museum of the Asiatic Society. Within the last few years this piece has been returned to Delhi, and the pillar has again been set up in its old position.

The inscriptions on this pillar are very imperfect, partly owing to its mutilation, and partly to the worn surface of the existing pieces². Impressions of the remaining portions of the edicts were furnished to Prinsep, who published copies of them and compared the text with that of the other pillars³. But the impressions must have been imperfect, as the published plates omit the right-hand portion of the north compartment and the bottom line of both. The omitted portions will be seen at once in the accompanying plate. The thin letters in the middle of the west compartment I have added from the other texts so as to show exactly how much is missing in this part. Altogether nearly one-half of the inscription still remains.

3 ALLAHABAD PILLAR

The well-known Allahabad pillar is a single shaft of polished sandstone 35 feet in length, with a lower diameter of 2 feet 11 inches and an upper diameter of 2 feet 2 inches. The capital of the column was no doubt of the usual bell-shape of Asoka's other pillars, but of this there is now no trace. The circular abacus, however, still remains with its graceful scroll of alternate lotus and honeysuckle, resting on a beaded astragalus of Greek origin. This was once surmounted by the statue of a lion, but the lion must have disappeared many centuries ago, as when the pillar was re-erected by Jahângir in A. D. 1605, it was crowned by a globe, surmounted by a cone, as described and sketched by Padre Tieffenthaler in the middle of the next century.⁴ It then stood in the middle of the fort.

The great inscription of Asoka, containing the same series of six edicts which are found on the other four pillars, is engraved in continuous lines around the column⁵. The letters are uniform in size, and are very neatly and deeply engraved. But a great portion of the third and fourth edicts, comprising seven lines, has been

¹ Description de l'Inde, par Bernoulli, I, 128—"On a fait santer en l'air ce monument avec de la poudre."

² See Plate XXI for the remains of these edicts.

³ Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, VI, 794, and Plate XLII.

⁴ Description de l'Inde, par Bernoulli, I, 224, and Plate VI.

⁵ See Plate XXII.

ruthlessly destroyed by the cutting of the van-glorious inscription of Jahāngu, recording the names of his ancestors. Two lines of the fifth edict are nearly intact, but nearly the whole of the remainder has been lost by the peeling off of the surface of the stone. The sixth edict is complete with the exception of about half a line.

Immediately below the Asoka edicts comes the long and well-known inscription of Samudra Gupta. The upper portion of this inscription is confined between a crack in the stone on its left, and two short Asoka inscriptions on its right. The lower one of these, consisting of five lines, was translated by Prinsep, and as it refers to Asoka's queens, I propose to name it "the Queen's edict." But the upper inscription, consisting of four lines, was discovered by myself, and as it is addressed to the rulers of Kosāmbi, I propose to name it "the Kosāmbi edict." All that remains of these Asoka edicts is given in Plate XXII of the Pillar Inscriptions.

Of middle age inscriptions there is no trace, but the mass of short records in rudely cut modern Nāgaṃ covers quite as much space as the two inscriptions of Asoka and Samudra. Above the Asoka edicts there is a mass of this modern scribbling equal in size to the Samudra Gupta inscription. But besides this, the whole of the Asoka inscription is interlined with the same rubbish, which is continued below on all sides of the two shorter edicts, one of which has been half obliterated by the modern letters.

Regarding these minor inscriptions, James Prinsep remarks¹ that "it is a singular fact that the periods at which the pillar has been overthrown can be thus determined with nearly as much certainty from this desultory writing as can the epochs of its being re-erected from the more formal inscriptions recording the latter event. Thus that it was overthrown some time after its first erection by the great Asoka in the middle of the third century before Christ, is proved by the longitudinal or random insertion of several names in a character intermediate between No 1 and No 2, in which the *m*, *b*, &c, retain the old form."

Of one of these names he remarks,—

"Now it would have been exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to have cut the name No 10 up and down at right angles to the other writing, *while the pillar was erect*, to say nothing of the place being out of reach, unless a scaffold were erected on purpose, which would hardly be the case, since the object of an ambitious visitor would be defeated by placing his name out of sight and in an unreadable position. The pillar was erected as Samudra Gupta's aim, and there it probably remained until overthrown again by the idol-breaking zeal of the Musalmāns, for we find no writings on it of the Pāla or Śārnāth type (2 *e*, of the tenth century), but a quantity appears with plain legible dates from the Samvat year 1420, or A. D. 1363, down to 1660 odd, and it is remarkable that these occupy one side of the shaft, or that which was uppermost when the pillar was in a prostrate position. A few detached and ill-executed Nāgaṃ names with Samvat dates of 1800 odd show that ever since it was laid on the ground again by General Garstin,² the passion for recording visits of piety or curiosity has been at work."

I have gone through the mass of modern scribbling in the hope of finding something that might throw further light on the history of the pillar, and I have not been altogether disappointed. I have found seven dates ranging from Samvat 1297 to 1398, or from A. D. 1240 to 1341, five ranging from Samvat 1464 to 1495, or A. D. 1407 to 1438, twelve ranging from Samvat 1501 to 1584, or A. D. 1444 to

¹ Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, VI, 967

² According to my information it was General Kyd whose name is still preserved in Kydgauj at Allahabad who threw down the pillar. Kittoe also assigns its overthrow to Kyd.

1527, three ranging from Samvat 1632 to 1640, or A D 1575 to 1583, and three of Samvat 1864, or A D. 1807. These dates, combined with the total absence of any mediæval Nāgarī inscriptions, are sufficient to show that the pillar was standing out of the reach of pilgrims' scribbling from the time of the Guptas until that of the early Musalmān kings of Delhi. There are then twelve dated inscriptions coming down to near the death of Muhammad Tughlak. There is not a single record of the time of Firoz Tughlak which leads me to suspect that he may have re-erected this pillar with its globe and cone, like those of the *Zarin-Minar*, or Golden Pillar, at Delhi. But if he did set it up, it must have been thrown down again during the troubled times of his immediate successors, as the dates begin again in A D 1407 and 1408. It was *next* set up by Jahāngir in A H 1014, or A D 1605, to be pulled down by General Kyd in A D 1798. It was once more scribbled upon in A D 1807, and finally in 1838 it was set up as it stands at present.

From the address of Asoka to the rulers of Kosāmbī, in the newly-discovered edict, it seems probable that this pillar may have been originally erected in that city, and afterwards removed to Prayāg or Allahabad. But if so, the removal was not made by Jahāngir, as I have found amongst the modern Nāgarī records a short inscription of the famous Birbar, the companion and favourite of Akbar. The words of the short record are as follows:

1 — *Samvat 1632, 'Sāke 1493, Mārgabadi panchami.*

2 — *Somvār Gangādās sut Maharaja Buba (r) Si.*

3 — *Tīrth Rāj Prayāg ke gātrā Saphal lekhitam*

"In the Samvat year 1632, Sāke¹ 1493, in Marga, the 5th of the waning moon, on Monday, Gangādās's son Maharaja Buba (r) made the auspicious pilgrimage to Tīrth Rāj Prayāg Saphal scripsit."

The Samvat date is equivalent to A. D. 1575, and as the building of the fort of Allahabad was finished in A. H. 982 = A. D. 1572, it is probable that Birbar took advantage during one of his attendances on Akbar to pay a visit to the meeting of the waters of the Gangā and Yamuna under the holy tree of Prayāga. But whatever may have been the occasion of Birbar's visit, its record is sufficient to prove that the pillar was then *lying* on the ground at Prayāga. If, then, it was originally erected at Kosāmbī, it seems highly probable that it must have been brought to Prayāga by Firoz Tughlak, whose removal of the Siwālīk and Mīnat pillars to Delhi gives countenance to this suggestion. The silence of the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang is also in favour of my suggestion that the present Allahabad pillar was originally set up at Kosāmbī.

4 — LAURIYA ARARĀJ PILLAR.

This pillar is situated close to the small hamlet of *Lauriya*, between Kesariya and Bettia, at a distance of twenty miles to the north-west of the Kesariya Stūpa, and one mile to the south-west of the much-frequented Hindu temple of Ararāj-Mahādeo

¹ There is an error of four years in this Sake date of 1493, which should be 1632—135 = 1497 Sake. If this was due to Birbar himself, and not to the scribe Saphal, it confirms the account of Badaoni that he was of poor origin. His real name was Mahesh Dās. See Blochmann's *Am. & Akbari*.

The pillar itself is simply called *Laur*,—that is, “the phallus,”—and the neighbouring village, which lies not more than 100 yards to the westward, is called *Lauriya*. This is the pillar which, on the authority of Mr Hodgson’s Munshi, has been called the Radhia Pillar. Now, as the other pillar to the north of Bettia is also called *Laur*, and the large village close to it Lauriya, while Mr Hodgson has named it Mathiah, I presume that his Munshi intentionally suppressed the phallic name of Lauriya, and named the two pillars at random after some of the neighbouring villages. Thus *Rahariya* (Ruheea of Indian-Atlas Sheet No. 102), which is Mr Hodgson’s Radhia, lies two and a half miles to the west-north-west of the southern pillar, while Mathiah lies three miles due south from the northern pillar. In describing these pillars I have preserved the characteristic name of Lauriya, and for the sake of distinguishing the one from the other, I have added to each the name of the nearest village. Thus the village near the southern pillar I have called “Lauriya Aiarāj,” and that near the northern pillar “Lauriya Navandgarh.”

The Aiarāj pillar is a single block of polished sandstone, $36\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height, above the ground, with a base diameter of 41·8 inches, and a top diameter of 37·6 inches. The weight of this portion only is very nearly 23 tons, but as there must be several feet of rough shaft sunk in the earth, the actual weight of the single block must be about 30 tons. This pillar has no capital, although there can be little, if any, doubt that it must once have been crowned with a statue of some animal. The people, however, know nothing of it, and not a fragment of any kind now exists to suggest what it may have been. The site of the village is a very secluded one, and there are no ruins or other remains to attract attention. It has accordingly escaped the notice of travellers and the disfigurement of their names, the only record being that of “Reuben Burrow, 1792,” besides a few flourished letters, or marks, of the kind which James Prinsep called “shell-shaped characters.”

The edicts of Asoka are most clearly and neatly engraved, and are divided into two distinct portions, that to the north containing eighteen lines, and that to the south twenty-three lines.¹ I made a copy of the inscriptions by the eye, which I then compared with James Prinsep’s text, and afterwards I re-examined every letter in which our copies differed. I also made an inked impression of the whole inscription on paper. But though the variations from Prinsep’s text are not many, yet, as no facsimile has yet been made public, it is important, for the sake of comparison, to afford access to an authentic copy which has been carefully examined in every letter.

The inscription of Asoka is engraved in two columns, one facing the south comprising the first four edicts, and the other facing the north containing edicts five and six of the Delhi pillar. The characters are neatly and deeply cut, and the words are generally separated. The forms of the letters are the same as those of the Delhi and Allahabad pillars, with the single exception of *j*, which has a decided knob or small circle attached to the middle stroke. There are six compound letters, *kḥ*, *tṣ*, *dh*, *kh*, *sy*, and *sv*, of which the first three do not occur on the Delhi pillar.

¹ See Plates XXIII and XXIV

5 —LAURIYA NAVANDGARH PILLAR

The graceful lion pillar at Lauriya, near the great ruined fort of Navandgarh, or Nonadgarh, is the only one of Asoka's columns which still retains its original capital¹. The lion is seated on its haunches with the mouth wide open, but the mouth is partly broken, and the shaft itself bears the round mark of a cannon shot just below the capital, which has been slightly displaced by the shock. One has not far to seek for the name of the probable author of this mischief. By the people the outrage is ascribed to the Musalmâns, and on the pillar itself, in beautifully cut Persian characters, is inscribed the name of *Mahmuddin Muhammad Aurangzib Pâdshâh Alamgir Ghâzi, Sanhu 1071*. This date corresponds with A. D. 1660-61, which was the fourth year of the reign of the bigoted Aurangzib, and the record was most probably inscribed by some zealous follower in Mir Jâmla's army, which was then on its return from Bengal, after the death of the emperor's brother Shujâ.

This pillar is much thinner and lighter in appearance than those of Aiarâj and Bakhia. The height of the polished shaft is 32 feet $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches, with a base diameter of 2 feet $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and a neck diameter of 2 feet $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The capital, which is bell-shaped, has a circular abacus, ornamented with a row of *hansas* (wild geese) pecking their food. The height of the capital, including the lion, is 6 feet 9 inches, which makes the total height of the pillar rather more than 39 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

The edicts of Asoka, which are arranged in two columns, one facing the north and the other the south, are engraved in the same clear and deeply-cut letters as on the Aiarâj pillar². The two inscriptions, with only a few trifling variations, correspond with each other, letter for letter, including the use of the six compound letters already noted.

This pillar has been visited by numerous travellers, as it stands in the direct route from Bettia to Nepal. There are a few unimportant inscriptions in modern Nâgari, the oldest being dated in *Samvat 1566, Chait badî 10*, equivalent to A. D. 1509. Another inscription, without date, refers to some petty royal family, *Nripa Nârâyana Suta Nripa Amara Singha*,—that is, "King Amara Singha, the son of King Nârâyana." The only English inscription is the name of Rn Burrow, 1792.

The pillar itself has now become an object of worship as a phallus or lingam. Whilst I was copying the inscription, a man with two women and a child set up a small flag before the pillar, and placed offerings of sweetmeats around it. They then all knelt before it, bowing down their heads to the ground with their hands behind their backs and repeating some prayer. The erection of the pillar is ascribed to Raja Bhim Mânî, one of the five Pândava brothers, to whom most of the pillars in India are now ascribed. I could not learn anything regarding the title of Mânî. There are two fine pipal trees close to the pillar, one to the north and the other to the south, but there are no traces of buildings of any kind near it.

Close to the pillar there are three rows of earthen mounds, of which one line runs from east to west, and the other lines from north to south. The loftiest of

¹ See Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. I, Plates XXII and XXV.

² See Plates XXV and XXVI.

these mounds reach the height of 50 to 55 feet. I believe them to be the tombs of the early inhabitants before the time of Asoka. Indeed, a human skeleton has been found in one of them, which, according to native report, was enclosed in an iron coffin.

6 —SANCHI PILLAR

The inscribed pillar at Sâncî near Bhilsa is only a fragment of a large polished shaft, but near it there still lies a beautiful broken capital crowned by four lions, which, no doubt, once surmounted it.¹ The inscription is unfortunately very much mutilated, as may be seen by the only two copies of it which have yet been published.² I have again lately visited Sâncî, and the present copy has been prepared from my recent impressions. It seems scarcely possible that it can be satisfactorily deciphered, but it will still be valuable, as affording, by the characters in which it is written, a direct proof that the pillar was erected in the time of Asoka.³ And as the pillar was subordinate to the stûpa, it affords also an indirect proof that the stûpa cannot be of a later date.

¹ See Colonel Maisey's drawing in Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Plate XXXIX, fig. 1.

² Prinsep in *Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society*, VII, Plate 23, and Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*, Plate XIX, No. 177.

³ See Plate XX for this inscription.

II. LANGUAGE OF THE INSCRIPTIONS.

THE inscriptions of Asoka are quite invaluable for the study of the vernacular languages of India, as they present us with several undoubted and authentic texts of the common language of the people in the third century B C. As revealed in these engraved records, this spoken language was essentially the same throughout the wide and fertile regions lying between Himalaya and Vindhya from the banks of the Indus to the mouths of the Ganges. There are, however, some marked points of difference which show that there were at least three distinct varieties of Pāli in the time of Asoka. These may be called, according to their geographical distribution, the *Panjābī* or north-western dialect, the *Ujjeni* or middle dialect, and the *Māgadhi* or eastern dialect.

1. The *Panjābī*, or dialect of North-Western India, is fully exhibited in the great inscription at Shālbāz-garhi in the Sudam valley, as well as on the coins of the Greek and Indo-Scythian princes of Ariana and India. Its chief characteristic is the retention of the subjoined *r*, in such words as *Prīyadarśi*, *Sīāmana*, *Andhīa*, and *prati* of the inscriptions, and in *Eulīatīdasa*, *Strategasa*, *bhīātasa*, and *putīasa* of the coins. It is also distinguishable by its nearer approach to pure Sanskrit forms, shown in the above-quoted *prati*, which becomes *pati* in all the other texts, as well as in the Pāli of Ceylon. Another characteristic is the possession of the three distinct sibilants of Sanskrit, which are all blended into one common form of the dental *s* in the other texts as well as in the Pāli of Ceylon. The whole of the three sibilants occur in the word *sususha*, which is written simply *sususa* in all the Indian versions, excepting only in a few passages of the Khālsī text, where the palatal *ś* or *sh* is used of nearly the same form as the Arian letter of the Shālbāz-garhi inscription. The same letter is also found in the word *vasa* or *vasha*, "year" which replaces *vasa* of the Indian texts, and in the plural forms of *Kamboyeshu* and *Pulindeshu*, which take the place of *Kamboyesu* and *Pulindesu* of the other versions.

But the most remarkable departure from the Indian texts is the use of the vernacular word *baraya* for twelfth, instead of the Sanskrit *dvādasā*. This word occurs twice in the inscription, near the beginning of the third and towards the end of the fourth edict. Strange to say, it remained unrecognised by Wilson, who simply remarks, "in place of *dvādasā*, 'twelve,' and *vasa*, 'year,' the inscription has *baraya vasha*, but the first must be wrong."¹ Of the second example, he says that "there is a blank instead of the number," although Norris's Arian text has the

letters for *vara* + *vasha* quite distinct, while his English transliteration gives *va ana vasha*. By thus separating *va* from the following letters, it seems that Norius also failed to recognise the true vernacular *baraya* for "twelfth"

I observe that the word *chatura*, "four," in the thirteenth edict, is followed by four upright strokes, thus, ||||, in the Shâhbâz-garhi text, and that the corresponding word *chatura*, "four," in the Khâlsî text, is followed by an upright cross, thus +, which must, therefore, be the old Indian cypher for 4. This form was afterwards modified to a St Andrews' cross, or x, in which shape it was adopted by all the people who used the Arian characters, as may be seen in the different inscriptions of the Kings Kanishka, Huvishka, and Gondophares, and of the Satrap Liako-Kujulaka. Previous to the adoption of this Indian symbol, the cyphers of the Western people would seem to have been limited to single strokes, as the words *pancheshu-pancheshu*, "every five," are followed by five upright strokes, which precede the word *vasheshu*, "years"¹

2 The *Ujjeni*, or middle Indian dialect, is exhibited in the Gûnar version of Asoka's edicts, in the rock edict of Rûpnâth, and in all the numerous donative records of the great stûpas of Bhilsa and Bhaihut. Its chief characteristics are the occasional use of the palatal sibilant *s*, as in *pâsanda*, and its possession of *r* as well as *l*, as shown in the use of *Raja* instead of *Laja*, *guru* instead of *gulu*, *oro* for *olo*, &c

The few coins that we possess with legends in Asoka characters also use the *r* in its proper place, as in *Purushadatta*, *Bâdânya*, and as none of them have been found to the east of Benares, I conclude that the power of pronouncing the letter *r* was confined to Northern and Central India, and to the people of Orissa and Kalinga

3 The *Mâgadhî* or eastern dialect is broadly marked by the entire want of the letter *r*, for which *l* is uniformly substituted. Thus we have *Laja* for *Râja*, *lopapita* for *ropapita*, *antalam* for *antaram*, *chalana* for *charana*, *Dasalatha* for *Dasaratha*, &c,—a peculiarity which would seem to connect the people of Eastern India with the Indo-Chinese, who also want the *r*². There is a curious account in the *Lalita-Vistara* regarding the teaching of the young Prince Sâkya Sinha in the *lipisâla*, or "Writing School." There the alphabet which he was taught was the common Sanskrit alphabet with the omission of the letters *l*, *r*, and *ri*³. But as no inscriptions with this peculiarity have yet been found, I cannot help suspecting that the author of the *Lalita-Vistara* has made a mistake, and that the letter actually omitted was *r*, as we find to have been the case in numerous inscriptions, including those of the Lauriya pillars, which stand within 125 miles of Kapilavastu, where Buddha was born

The affinities of the language of Asoka's inscriptions with Pâli and Sanskrit have been briefly discussed by the competent pen of Professor H. H. Wilson, whose opinion was formed after a very careful and searching examination of the

¹ Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. V, p. 22, by Cunningham

² It is true that the Burmese have actually got the letter *r*, which they borrowed from India along with their alphabet, but they have not got the pronunciation, as they say *Yangoon* for *Rangoon*, *Fahoo* for *Rahu*, &c.

³ History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature by Professor Max-Müller, p. 519.

complete texts of four different versions of the rock edicts I quote his words as they stand, with the single exception of the substitution of the name of Shâhbâz-garhi for that of Kapurdaghi, as the great inscription of Asoka is actually within the lands of the former place, and more than two miles distant from the smaller village of Kapurdaghi¹ —

“The language itself is a kind of Pâli, offering for the greater portion of the words forms analogous to those which are modelled by the rules of the Pâli grammar still in use. There are, however, many differences, some of which arise from a closer adherence to Sanskrit, others from possible local peculiarities, indicating a yet unsettled state of the language. It is observed by Mr Prinsep, when speaking of the Lât inscriptions ‘The language differs from every existing written idiom, and is, as it were, intermediate between the Sanskrit and Pâli. The nouns and particles in general follow the Pâli structure, the verbs are more frequently nearer to the Sanskrit forms, but in neither, any more than in grammatical Pâli, is there any great dissimilarity from Sanskrit. It is curious that the Shâhbâz-garhi inscription departs less from the Sanskrit than the others, retaining some compound consonants, as *pr* in *prîya* instead of *piya*, and having the representatives of the three sibilants of the Devanâgarî alphabet, while the others, as in Pâli, have but one sibilant. On the other hand, the Shâhbâz-garhi inscription omits the vowels to a much greater extent, and rarely distinguishes between the long and short vowels—peculiarities perhaps not unconnected with the Semitic character of its alphabet.

“The exact determination of the differences and agreements of the inscriptions with Pâli on the one hand and Sanskrit on the other would require a laborious analysis of the whole, and would be scarcely worth the pains, as the differences from either would, no doubt, prove to be comparatively few and unimportant, and we may be content to consider the language as Pâli, not yet perfected in its grammatical structure, and deviating in no important respect from Sanskrit. Pâli is the language of the writings of the Buddhists of Ava, Siam and Ceylon, therefore it is concluded it was the language of the Buddhists of Upper India when the inscriptions were engraved, and consequently they are of Buddhist origin. This, however, admits of question, for, although the Buddhist authorities assert that Sâkya Sinha and his successors taught in Pâli, and that a Pâli grammar was compiled in his day, yet, on the other hand, they affirm that the doctrines of Buddha were long taught orally only, and were not committed to writing for four centuries after his death, or until B. C. 153—a date, no doubt, subsequent to that of the inscriptions. In fact, the principal authorities of the Singalese Buddhists appear to have existed in Singalese, and to have been translated into Pâli only in the fifth century after Christ.

“According to M. Burnouf and Mr Hodgson, the earliest Buddhist writings were not Pâli, but Sanskrit, and they were translated by the Northern Buddhists into their own languages—Mongol and Tibetan. It does not appear that they have any Pâli books. The Chinese have obtained their writings from both quarters, and they probably have Pâli works brought from Ava or Ceylon. They have also, according to M. Burnouf, translations of the same Sanskrit works that are known in the north. It is by no means established, therefore, that Pâli was the sacred language of the Buddhists at the period of the inscriptions, and its use constitutes no conclusive proof of their Buddhist origin. It seems more likely that it was adopted as being the spoken language of that part of India where Piyâdasi resided, and was selected for his edicts, that they might be intelligible to the people. Hence, also, the employment of different alphabets, that of Shâhbâz-garhi being the alphabet current in Afghanistan and Bactria, as we know from the Græco-Bactrian coins. The use of the provincial or local alphabet was evidently designed for the convenience of those to whom it was familiar, while the ancient form of Devanâgarî was that employed in Hindustan as being there in general use. The popular currency of the language, admitting that it might have been the spoken dialect of the north-west of India, would be more likely to prevent, than to recommend, its use as a ‘sacred’

¹ Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, XII, 236-238

language, and its being applied to such a purpose by the Southern Buddhists was in some degree probably owing to their being as a people ignorant of it, and it would then assume in their eyes a sanctity which as a spoken dialect it was not likely to possess. At the same time we can scarcely suppose that the language of the inscriptions was understood in all the countries where they have been discovered,—beyond the Indus, at Delhi, in Bihar, in Orissa, and Gujarat, where we know that very different dialects, however largely borrowing from a common source, at present prevail. Neither is it likely that edicts intended to regulate the moral conduct of the people at large should have been intelligible only to Buddhist priests, or should have been perpetuated on pillars and rocks solely for their edification. We may therefore recognise it as an actually existent form of speech in some part of India, and might admit the testimony of its origin given by Buddhists themselves, by whom it is always identified with the language of Magadha or Bihar, the scene of Sâkyasimha's first teaching, but that there are several differences between it and the Mâgadhi, as laid down in Prâkrit grammar, and as it occurs in Jain writings. It is, as Messrs Burnouf and Lassen remark, still nearer to Sanskrit, and may have prevailed more to the north than Bihar, or in the upper part of the Doab, and in the Punjab, being more analogous to the Samasenî dialect, the language of Mathura and Delhi, although not differing from the dialect of Bihar to such an extent as not to be intelligible, to those to whom Sâkyasimha and his successors addressed themselves. The language of the inscriptions, then, although necessarily that of their date, and probably that in which the first propagators of Buddhism expounded their doctrines, seems to have been rather the spoken language of the people in Upper India than a form of speech peculiar to a class of religionists, or a sacred language, and its use in the edicts of Piyadasi, although not incompatible with their Buddhist origin, cannot be accepted as a conclusive proof that they originated from any peculiar form of religious belief."

James Prinsep had already noticed the "marked difference" between the dialects of the Girnar and Dhauli versions of the edicts.¹ "In the former, he says —

"We find *bhavati*, *asti* = 'is', *anusati* = 'command,' &c. following closely upon the Sanskrit etymology, whereas in the latter we have *hoti*, *athi*, *anuvathi*, as in the modern Pâli

"The dialect of Girnar, then, is intermediate between Sanskrit and Pâli, or rather the pillar idiom, for Pâli, so called, agrees in some respects better with one, in some with other, and in orthography decidedly with neither! Thus the word *idha*, used at Girnar for *iha*, 'here,' is correctly the Pâli term, as may be seen in the long quotation about the erection of a stûpa in Ceylon inserted in last month's Journal

"The corresponding word in the eastern dialect is curiously modified to *hida*—a fact I only ascertained by the collation of the two texts, and one which at once opens an important discovery to aid our studies. In several of the Dhauli inscriptions the expressions *hidaloḥika*, *paraloḥika*, *hidaloḥa*, *paraloḥa*, occur, at Girnar (13th tablet) we have also *iholohā*, *paralohikā cha*—all these are evidently *ihalohikā*, *pāralohikācha*—'of this world and of the next world.' Now, the opening of the pillar inscription which so much perplexed us has the same elements *hidata pālata*—*ihā para* or *ihato-pāratah*, 'here and hereafter' a sense which at once renders the passage intelligible. The same may be said of *hidatahaye pālatahaye* in the north compartment

"The eastern dialect is remarkable for this species of cockneyism, which, as far as I know, has no parallel in any of the grammatical Prâkrits—thus the *h* is inserted before *evam* (*hevam*), *idam* and some other words beginning with vowels

"On the other hand (but this is also a cockneyism) the semivowel *y* is cut off in many words, such as *athā*, *adā*, *ata*, *am*, which are correctly spelt at Girnar,—*yathā*, *yadā*, *yatā*, (S *yatīa*) and *yam*. In these instances the pillar language is remotest from the Sanskrit. There is a singular exception, however, in the feminine pronoun *iyam*, which is preserved throughout at Dhauli and on the pillars,

¹ Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, VII, 277, 281

whereas at Gūnar, *ayam* is made both masculine and feminine, as in modern (or rather written) Pāli

“There cannot be a better test of the gradual change of language than the word *prati*, a prefix in Sanskrit extensively used, implying relation, direction, or return. In the Pāli of Gūnar this is merely altered to *pati*, by omission of the *r*. In the language of the pillars the same preposition is always written *pati*, with the cerebral *t*. The orthography varies in the written Pāli of books, being in Ceylonese *pati*, in Burmese *pati*, while in Prākṛit, the rules of which generally change the hard to soft consonants, *t* to *d*, *t* to *d*, the word is written *padi* as *padihāssati* for *pratikhyāsyati*, &c., and perhaps we may recognise a final change into *pai* in the modern Hindi,—for instance, in *paies* from *pratīvesa*, vicinity, and other words.

“Substantives suffer modifications not so great in extent, but equally remarkable, and significant of gradual corruption.

“The word *man* may serve as an example.—Sans *manushyas*, at Gūnar *manuso*, at Dhauhi and on the pillars *munise*, Pāli *manusso*, Prākṛit—(?Bhāka,) *mānus*. Again, the Sanskrit *purushas* is made at Gūnar *puruso* (?), at Dhauhi, *pulise*, Pāli, *puriso* or *poso*, Prākṛit *puriso*. In modern dialects it is only used as a Sanskrit word.

“Of the changes undergone by the verbs, a good example may be selected in the substantive verbs, *bhū*, *bhavati*, ‘be,’ which is found unimpaired in several instances at Gūnar, though never so on the pillars, *hoti*, the Pāli form, sometimes takes its place in the Gūnar tablets,—always on the pillars. The Prākṛit changes this to *hodi*, whence it is further softened to *hai* and *hæ* in the modern dialects.

“*Asti* and *nāsti* (Sanskrit *asti* and *nāsti*) are also retained in the original form at Gūnar. At Dhauhi they became *athī* and *nathī*, whereas in Pāli they are converted into *auhi* and *nauhi*. The future passive participle terminates as the Sanskrit in *tavya* at Gūnar, and *tavya* at Dhauhi, while Pāli makes it *tabba*, Prākṛit *dabba*, and the form is altogether lost in the modern *bhāshas*. This gradual transition is well marked in the verb *kṛi*, ‘do’—Sans *karttavyam*, Gūnar *katavyam*, Katak *katavyam*, Pāli *katavvam*, Prāk *kadabbam*.

“In writing many Sanskrit words in which the *sth* or *st* dental, or cerebral, are required, a curious rule is adopted at Gūnar of representing them by a cerebral *t* with the *s* subjoined, as *tisteyā* for *tistheyāt* “may remain” *anusati* for *anusasti*, *adhīstāna* for *adhīsthan*. In all these the lowermost consonant is pronounced first.

“Another similar anomaly is remarked in the mode of writing *vy* in *vyāptā* (S *vayāpta*), *katavyam*, *karttavyam*, &c., the *v* being placed below the *y*, whereas on the pillars (where the double consonant is employed at all) it is correctly written *vy*. The word *Bāmhana*, *Brahmana*, is written with the *h* below, it may, therefore, on the above principle, be read with the *h* first, *baḥmana* as nearer to the Sanskrit. At Dhauhi this word is invariably written *bābhana*. In modern Pāli it is written *brāhmano* with the dental *n*.

“In the inflexion of the seventh case we have at Gūnar often *mhi* (*hmi*), at Dhauhi *msi* or *si*. These correspond, of course, with Sanskrit *smi* in *asmi*, &c., and all forms are allowed in the facile grammar of the written Pāli, along with the regular locative in *e*. It is impossible not to recognise the Hindi postposition *men* in the Gūnar form of the locative case.

“The conjunctive *va* seems to be used for ‘and’ as frequently as *vā* for ‘or’. It is the Persian conjunction, and is used in written Hindi, though seldom in the spoken tongue, *aur* the pundit pointed out in one place written *āro*, but I doubt the reading.

“A great many other instances might be cited to prove that the language of Gūnar is not precisely either pure Sanskrit or the pure Pāli of books, but as the Buddhist volumes of Ceylon are acknowledged to be posterior by 450 years to the death of Sākya, his tenets having been first reduced to writing in Ceylon, about ninety years before Christ, some change may be allowed to have taken place in the meantime, and we may presume that the Gūnar inscriptions represent the Pāli (or vulgar) tongue, as it was in the time of Asoka on the west of India, as the pillars show it to us as it

was pronounced on the east, or in Magādhā proper. Now, it is curious enough that some of the distinguishing traits of the pillar dialect are just such as are pointed out by the grammarians of a later day as constituting the differences between Māgadhi and Pāli—names, it must be remembered, which are indifferently employed in Ceylon, Ava, Siam, and even China, to express the sacred language of the Buddhists. Thus, quoting from M.M. Lassen and Burnouf's *Essai sur le Pāli*, p. 156,—‘*Ra* devient *la* en Māgadhi, *poulse*, Pāli *pouiso*. Ce changement a quelque fois lieu en Piākṛit jamaïs en Pāli’—and again in the next paragraph,—‘en Māgadhi le nominatif singulier est en *e* (which takes the place of *visarga*) tandis qu’en Pāli il est terminé en *o*’. The use of *o* in lieu of *e* for the masculine nominative is general, but not universal in the text before us. The conclusion to which the same savans were led at that early period of their studies may now require a slight modification.

“Une comparaison attentive du Piākṛit et du Pāli nous a conduit à cette conclusion —

“1 Qu’il existe, entre ces deux dialectes, une ressemblance telle qu’on peut avancer qu’ils sont presque identiques,

“2 Que le Piākṛit altère plus le Sanskrit que ne le fait le Pāli, et qu’il offre en quelque sorte, le second degré d’altération, comme le Pāli en est le premier et le plus immédiat. *Essai sur le Pāli*, 15

“The second position is quite true, and it has been fully developed in a recent work (*Institutiones Piākṛiticæ*) by Professor Lassen, which should be in the hands of every Indian philologist.

“The position assumed by M. Lassen, that the Pāli of Ceylon was immediately derived from the shores of Kalinga, independently of its being matter of history, is supported by the evidence of the records now discovered in the country. Yet it must be confessed that in some respects there is a nearer connection with the dialect of Gujārāt, and it is not unnatural to suppose that a maritime intercourse also prevailed at a very early period between the western emporia of Surashtra and Tambapanni, the island so fruitful in aromatics, which would lead to an intercommunion of those professing the same faith in the two countries.

“The vernacular language of India at that period, then, varied in different provinces it approached more to the Sanskrit in the north-west, diverged from it in Magādhā and Kalinga, but it was in both places essentially what is now called Pāli, a word supposed to be derived from *palli*, a village, as we should now-a-days distinguish *gaonwāri*, villager, boorish, from *ūrdū*, the language of the Court. There is no trace of genuine Piākṛit in either of the dialects, and we may, therefore, agree with Professor Lassen that the *patois* of the diwans was not used until three or four centuries later. The grammarians who subsequently framed the rules of this corrupted idiom cease to mention Pāli at all—a proof that it had already been banished the country along with the Buddhist religion, while the Māgadhi, by them set down as nearly the lowest of jargons, is evidently quite different from the inferior language of the pillars and the Katak inscriptions.”

III. ALPHABETICAL CHARACTERS.

THE inscriptions of Asoka are engraved in two distinct characters,—one reading from right to left, which is confined to the Shāhbāz-garhi version, and also found on the coins of the Greek and Indo-Scythian Princes of Ariana, and the other reading from left to right, which is confined to the coins of Pantaleon and Agathokles, who reigned beyond the Indus, but which is the common character of all the other texts of the inscriptions, as well as of all the donative inscriptions of the Sāuchi and Bharhut Stūpas. The former has been called *Ariano-Pali*, and the latter *Indo-Pāli*, from the countries in which they were principally used.

The *Ariano-Pali* alphabet, as seen in the Shāhbāz-garhi inscription as well as on the coins, comprises all the letters of the Indo-Pali alphabet. But that this was not the case originally is clear from the fact that, while the hard aspirates *kh*, *chh*, *th*, and *ph* are distinct characters, independent of the forms of the non-aspirated letters *k*, *ch*, *t*, and *p*, the soft aspirates *gh*, *dh*, and *bh* are simply the letters *g*, *d*, and *b*, with the aspirate letter *h* attached to the right. The very same peculiarity is noticeable in the Tibetan alphabet, which was also originally wanting in the aspirated tenues. The Tibetan language did not require them, and accordingly, when the Nagari alphabet of India was adopted by the Tibetans, the soft aspirates were omitted. But afterwards when it was found necessary to express numbers of Sanskrit words and Indian names in which these letters occur, new compound forms were invented by simply adding the aspirate to each of the unaspirated letters.

Similarly, the series of cerebral letters, which was also wanting originally in Tibetan, was afterwards supplied by the invention of new letters, which are simply the five dental letters reversed. This is not exactly the case with the cerebral letters of the *Ariano-Pali* alphabet, but their forms differ so slightly from those of the dentals, that it seems highly probable they must have been a late addition to the original alphabetical scheme.

In *Indian-Pali* such compound forms as *sp*, *sv*, *st*, and *sr* were altered either by the suppression of one of the two consonants, or by their separation into two syllables. We thus have *asa* for *asva*, *nāhi* for *nāsti*, and *siri* for *sri*. But in *Ariano-Pāli*, which abounds with such names as Hystaspes, Zariaspes, Haustanes, Spitamenes, &c., compound letters were invented to represent the *sp* and *st* and *sr*, and thus we find the words *aspa* and *asti* and *sīmana* in their regular forms. The *r* was attached to the right foot of each letter, as in *priya*, which occurs so often in the Asoka edicts. But as the same stroke is attached to the right foot of *dh* in

dharma, and to the right foot of *d* in *darsi*, it seems probable that in the Shālbāz-garhi text, at least, the compound letters may have possessed the double sounds of *dhra* and *dhar*, *dīa* and *dar*, otherwise we must read *dhama* and *dras*.

At what time this alphabet was invented, or whence it was derived, nothing certain is known. The subject has been discussed by Mr Thomas, who concludes that it has no claim whatever to an indigenous origin, "based, as it manifestly is, upon an alphabet cognate with the Phœnician".¹

Some of the more prominent letters are common to both alphabets. And the differences in others may, he thinks, have been developed by "the insertion of medial vowels in the body of the covering consonant"—a scheme which he justly believes to have been adopted from the Pāli alphabet of India, as it is quite unknown to Western caligraphy.

But the Ariano-Pāli vowel scheme differs from that of India in having only one set of vowels, as no distinction has yet been discovered between the short and long vowels, unless perhaps a dot or short return at the left foot may be taken for the long *ā*. The initial vowels are formed exactly in the same manner as the medial vowels, the same straight strokes being added to the primitive stem, or short *a*, to form the vowels *i*, *u*, *e*, and *o*. The letter *r* and the vowel *u* are also attached to the vowels after the same manner as to the consonants.

The use of this peculiar alphabet would appear to have been originally confined to Ariana, or the countries lying to the west of the Indus between India and Persia. The earliest known specimens of the writing are the edicts of Asoka at Shālbāz-garhi and the rare coin of Agathokles, of which only three specimens are known to me. The former cannot be older than the 12th year of Asoka, or B. C. 251, and the latter must be of nearly the same date, or about B. C. 210. But as the alphabet is here seen in its full development with all the soft aspirates and cerebral letters complete, it must have been in use for some considerable time previously. The date of this development I would assign to the end of the 4th century B. C., when the provinces to the west of the Indus were ceded to Chandia Gupta by Seleukos Nikator, and thus came directly under the influence of Indian learning, which necessitated the adoption of some additional letters to express new Indian sounds. This alphabet continued in use during the whole period of Greek supremacy, and under the Indo-Scythian princes it was carried to the eastward of the Sutlej, an inscription of Kanishka in this character having been found in a Buddhist Stūpa near Bahawalpur. About the end of the first century A. D. it would appear to have fallen into disuse, as all the gold coins which may be assigned to the second century bear Indian letters only. The latest dated record yet made known is my inscription from Panjtāi, which bears the *Samvat* year 122.² If this be the so-called Vikramāditya Samvat, as I believe it is, it will refer to the year A. D. 65, but if it be the Saka era, the date will be exactly A. D. 200.

Three different specimens of the Ariano-Pāli alphabet are given in the accompanying plate.³ 1st, from Asoka's edicts at Shālbāz-garhi, which date as early as B. C. 252, 2nd, from the coins of the Greek princes of Ariana and India, which range

¹ Numismatic Chronicle, New Series, III, 229

² See Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. V, p. 61

³ See Plate XXVII

from B C 210 to 120, and 3rd, from the coins and inscriptions of the Indo-Seythian princes, the Sacre and Tochari, which range from B C 120 down to A D 79

The *Indo-Pâli* alphabet differs from that of Ariana in two very important particulars,—1st, in being read from left to right; and 2nd, in being formed exclusively either of rigid straight lines or of portions of circles. Owing to the latter peculiarity, it has never been found in a cursive form, into which indeed it was hardly possible to force its inflexible elements.

Three specimens of this alphabet are given in the accompanying plate,¹ 1st, from the edicts of Asoka and Dasaratha on rocks and pillars, which range from B C. 252 to 218, and from the few native Hindu coins which belong to the same period, 2nd, from the coins of the native princes contemporary with the later Greeks and earlier Indo-Seythians, which may range from B C 150 to 57, and 3rd, from the Mathura inscriptions of the Indo-Seythian princes, Kanishka, Huviska Vasu-deva, and others, which range from B. C. 57 to A. D. 79

The letters of the Indo-Pâli alphabet have become pretty well known through James Prinsep's writings. The whole of the consonants were discovered by him, with the exception of the guttural nasal *ng*, which has not yet been found, and the two sibilants *s* and *sh*. One of these I have since discovered in the Khâlsi version of the edicts, where it is several times correctly used, in the word *pâshanda*, instead of the dental sibilant *s*. Its form is not unlike that of the Ariano-Pâli *sh*, from which it *may* have been derived, although it seems to me equally probable that the Indian letter was the original form.

The vowels also were discovered by Prinsep, excepting only the initial *o*, which he took to be a long *ā* and for which he proposed a new form derived from the later Gupta alphabet. It is strange that the true value of the letter did not strike him, as it is the only initial which remains absolutely unchanged as a medial. It has two distinct forms, of which the later is only the earlier one reversed, both as an initial and as a medial. The earlier form consists of a perpendicular stroke with a horizontal stroke on each side, one at the top and one at the foot. In the earlier form the upper stroke is on the left hand and the lower stroke on the right. This was the letter which James Prinsep took for the initial long *u*. The latter form is found in the additional edicts of Dhauhi and Jaugada, and in the later edicts on the Allahabad pillar. The initial long *ā* is of frequent occurrence, but no other initial long vowel has yet been found in Asoka's inscriptions. The initial diphthong *ai* occurs in *Ana* Raja's inscriptions, unless the name is to be read as *Veia*. The medial long vowels *ā*, *i*, *ū*, are common; but no examples of medial *a* or *au* are at present known. The *anusvāra* is frequently used, either for the duplication of *m*, as in *dhamma*, or as a substitute for the guttural nasal *ng*, as in modern Hindi. The question of the probable origin of this Indian alphabet has been very ably discussed by Mr Thomas, who concludes that it is "an independently devised and locally matured scheme of writing." He adds that the Indian Pâli alphabet possesses

"in an eminent degree the merit of simplicity combined with extended distinctive capabilities and remarkable facility of lection, and that its construction exhibits not only a definite purpose

throughout, but indicates, moreover, a high order of intellectual culture on the part of its designers, who discriminated by appropriate letters gradations of sound, often unappreciable to European ears, and seldom susceptible of correct utterance by European organs of speech ”¹

Mr Thomas adverts more pointedly to the independent origin of the Indo-Pāli alphabet, because, as he explains,

“a tendency exists in many cultivated minds to depreciate the originality and antiquity of Indian “civilisation ”

And he quotes the facts that Professor Max-Muller

“will not admit that the Indians required the art of writing till a comparatively late period,”
that Dr J Wilson of Bombay

“asserts that Asoka’s Buddhists derived their letters from Greek and Phœnician models,”

while Dr Weber affirms that they

“are emanations from a Phœnician stock ”

Upwards of twenty years have now passed since I came to the same conclusion which Mr Thomas has thus boldly advanced, namely, that the Indian-Pāli alphabet was a perfectly independent invention of the people of India My opinion was formed after a careful comparison of all the characters with the pictorial representations of simple objects of which many of the letters represent either the whole name or the first syllable of the name

The first attempts of mankind at graphic representation must have been confined to pictures, or direct imitations of actual objects This was the case with the Mexican paintings, which depicted only such material objects as could be seen by the eye An improvement on direct pictorial representation was made by the ancient Egyptians in the substitution of a part for the whole, as of a human head for a man, a bird’s head for a bird, &c This system was still further extended by giving to certain pictures inductive values or powers, symbolical of the objects represented Thus a jackal was made the type of cunning, and an ape the type of rage By a still farther application of this abbreviated symbolism a pair of human arms with spear and shield denoted fighting, a pair of human legs meant walking, while a hoe was the type of digging, an eye of seeing, &c But even with this poetical addition the means of expressing thoughts and ideas by pictorial representations was still very limited For, as each picture could convey only one idea, the number of separate pictures requisite to form an intelligible story must have been very great. The difficulty also of remembering the precise application of so many different symbols and of discriminating an actual vulture or other animal from a symbolical one must have been felt very early, as the oldest specimens that we possess of Egyptian writing on the monuments of Sepsu and Sosis, of the third and fourth dynasties, are not pictorial, but phonetic It seems certain, therefore, that at a very early date the practice of pure picture writing must have been found so complicated and inconvenient that the necessity for a simpler mode of expressing their ideas was forced upon the Egyptian priesthood The plan which they invented was highly ingenious, though somewhat cumbrous, and as it seems probable that the Indians might have gone through a similar process, a brief account of it will not be out of place

¹ Numismatic Chronicle, new series,—“On the Bactrian alphabet.”

To the greater number of their pictorial symbols the Egyptians assigned the phonetic values of the particular sounds or names, of which each symbol previously had been only a simple picture. Thus to a mouth, *ru*, they assigned the value of *r*, and to a hand, *tut*, the value of *t*. But as each of the symbols still possessed an inherent vowel sound, the system was one of complete syllables, or a syllabary, and not one of simple letters, or an alphabet. Occasionally the vowels were separated from the consonants, as when *mu*, a hole, was represented by a "boatstand," *m* followed by an outstretched arm, or *u*. Had this plan of separating the vowels been generally adopted, it must soon have led to a complete alphabetical system, but, like the first possessor of the *Koh-i-nûr*, the Egyptian had a treasure within his grasp, without knowing its value.

A similar process would appear to have taken place in India, as I will presently attempt to show by a separate examination of the alphabetical letters of Asoka's age with the pictures of various objects from which I believe them to have been directly descended. I have neither time nor space at present to attempt to complete, nor even to continue, this curious investigation. But, perhaps, a few of the more prominent examples which I will presently bring forward will be sufficient to arrest the attention, even if they do not lead to the conviction, of many of my readers. My own conclusion is that the Indian alphabet is of purely Indian origin, just as much as the Egyptian hieroglyphics were the purely local invention of the people of Egypt. The only alternative that I can see to this conclusion is that the Indians must first have borrowed the plan of their system from the Egyptians, and afterwards have concealed the loan by adapting the different symbols to their own native words. But as this would have entailed a complete change in the values of all the symbols, I must confess that such an alternative seems to me to be very improbable. I admit that several of the letters have almost exactly the same *forms* as those which are found amongst the Egyptian hieroglyphics for the same things, but their *values* are quite different, as they form different syllables in the two languages. Thus a pair of legs separated as in walking was the Egyptian symbol for walking or motion, and the same form, like the two sides of a pair of compasses, is the Indian letter *g*, which as *ga* is the commonest of all the Sanskrit roots for walking, or motion of any kind. But the value of the Egyptian symbol is *s*, and I contend that if the symbol had been *borrowed* by the Indians, it would have retained its original value. This, indeed, is the very thing that happened with the Accadian Cuneiform symbols when they were adopted by the Assyrians. The original symbols retained their *power* as syllables, but lost their *value* as pictorial representations of things on being transferred to a different language.

The present arrangement of the Indian alphabet is the only one known to the grammarians. It was certainly in use before the Christian era, as the Lalita Vistara, in recording that the youthful Buddha was taught the Indian alphabet, arranges the letters in their present order. But this artificial division of the letters into classes of gutturals, palatals, &c., must have been preceded by some much simpler grouping of the letters. Perhaps the simplest arrangement that could be made would have been according to similarity of form. For, if I am right as to the local development of the alphabet from original pictorial representations of things,

it would follow as a matter of course that objects of somewhat similar shape would be represented by symbols more or less alike. And if any attempt had been made to classify the different symbols, I think that the most obvious and natural arrangement would have been that of similitude of shape. As any arrangement is better than none at all, I have adopted this grouping of the letters in the accompanying plate. I have also ventured to name each group after that member of the human body which seems to me to have suggested the original picture or ideograph. At first the figures would have been more or less rude representations of the different members. But these would gradually have given way to simpler forms, until each symbol acquired a separate phonetic value, and thus became a distinct syllable. At this point the Chinese have stopped, but in India the syllables must have given way very early to the more convenient system of alphabetic letters that is now in use.

GROUP 1 — *Kh*, *G* ARMS AND LEGS

This group comprises only two letters, *kh* and *g*, of which the former would seem to represent the action of the human arms, and the latter the action of the legs. Both have concave or hollow forms in the Asoka alphabet, which, as they represented different kinds of action, would necessarily be distinguished by some slight difference of shape. Thus the *g* is either a half circle, or a parabola, or an angle formed by the two sides of an isosceles triangle, while the *kh* has the left limb about one-half the length of the right one.

Kh — The form of this letter appears to me to have been derived from that of the common Indian *hoe* or *mattock*, which has been used by the people from time immemorial for *digging* their fields. Now, the radical word for this operation is *khan*, "to dig," and as the original mattock was made of a natural knee-joint of *Khayar* or *Khadir* wood, it would seem that this tree (*Mimosa catechu*) may have been so named from the purpose to which it was applied as the "digging-wood." In some parts where the *Khayar* is easily procurable, the mattock is still made in the ancient fashion of wood alone, but in most places the instrument now in use is an angle joint of *Khayar*, or other strong wood, shod with a small iron blade. One of these is represented in the accompanying plate.¹ The letter is therefore a symbol of the arm's action in the characteristic form of digging.

Now, the Indian letter is only a simplified form of the picture of the mattock, a variety of which is known amongst Egyptologists as the "hand-plough." But as the hieroglyphic value of the symbol is *m*, I infer that the Indian letter *kh* must have been an independent local invention of the Indian people.

There are other objects whose forms seem to point to a close connection with the old shape of the *kh*. These are, *lha*, vacancy, or the sky, that is, the hollow vault of heaven, the Greek *koilos* and the Latin *cælum*, *kharga*, the rhinoceros,

¹ See Plate XXVIII

from the curved tip of his horn, and also a scymitar with a similar curved point, *khuri*, a hoop, to which may be added *khola*, open, and *khokhra* or *khokhla*, hollow¹

G—The form of this letter would seem to have been derived from a pair of human legs separated as in the action of walking, or simple *motion*, as distinguished from the numerous forms of action displayed by the arms. Now, the radical word for motion is *gam*, to go. Hence *Gangā*, which designates a river in general, means simply “go-go,” or the “goer,” similarly, *gagan*, “the sky,” which appears to turn round both day and night, has precisely the same meaning. Hence, most probably, sprang the legend of the descent of the River Ganga from the sky.

Now, the Indian letter G of Asoka's alphabet is a simpler form of the Egyptian “pair of legs” with feet attached, which, according to Buch, had the value of *t*, and meant “walking or running.” A second hieroglyphic, with a flat top and two straight sides, is used to represent the “sky or heavens.” But this is only a variety of the other form, and serves all the more forcibly to prove the correctness of the origin which I have suggested for the form of the Indian letter.

Several other names seem to have a direct reference to the shape of this letter, but a single illustration will, perhaps, be sufficient. Thus the words *guha* and *gupha* both signify “a cave,” which the Egyptians represented by three sides of a square, open at the bottom. But this hieroglyph had the power of *b*, from *beb*, a “cave.” Here, again, we have another illustration of the independent origin of the Indian symbols, as the same forms have different values, although they represent the same things.

GROUP 2 —Y, J, Ch, Chh—MONS VENERIS, OR VULVA

In this group the letters Y and J have the same forms, the latter being simply turned sideways. The character in the Asoka alphabet is clearly intended for a representation of the *mons veneris*, in proof of which I may cite the similar form of the Egyptian hieroglyph for the same member, as well as its common Indian names *yoni* and *jaghan*.

Y, J—The Asoka forms of these letters are both open, but there seems reason to suspect that the original symbol may have been a pictorial representation of a grain of barley, *ya* or *yava*, which is divided into two parts by a perpendicular line. But as the two parts form one whole, this symbol was used to denote union, as in the radicals *ya*, union, and *ya*, “mons veneris,” from which sprang *yuga*, a “yoke or pair,” the Latin *jugum*, and Hindi *jora*. The peculiar small circle or dot in the middle of the Asoka J seems to be directly referred to in the term *netra-yoni*, one of the epithets of the moon. This means simply the “eye of the *yoni*,” which really is in the symbol, and is supposed to refer to the shape of the spots on the moon, to account for which was invented the legend of Soma attempting to debauch the wife of the sage Gautama. The name of *Juno*, the goddess of the moon, must be con-

¹ I have purposely included several Hindi words, as their use in India is at least as old as that of Sanskrit.

nected with the Indian *jun*, and with *junhaya*, the "moon or moonlight," as well as with the Latin *jubar*. I presume also that the Sanskrit terms *yosha* and *josha* for "woman" were derived from the root *ya* or *yoni*, as the symbol of the female sex. The Tibetan *cho-mo* or *cho*, a "woman," is perhaps connected with the same root.

Ch, Chh. As the two letters *Y* and *J* signified the *union* or *junction* of the two halves of the symbol, so the letters *Ch* and *Chh* would seem to have referred to the *division* or *separation* of the two parts, as the words *chū* and *chhed* are the roots for "split, split, divide, &c." From the first of these were derived the terms *churāvali* and *chūāband*, a "maiden," and from the other several terms connected with the female sex. Such words as *chamas* or *chamcha* a "spoon or ladle," *chhurika*, the "nostrils," *chhatra*, an "umbrella or mushroom," *chappu*, a "paddle or oar," and *chāl*, the "potter's wheel," all point to the forms of the Asoka letters *ch* and *chh*, as striking pictorial representations of their particular forms. The resemblance to the *ladle* and *oar* is specially striking in India, where the former is often made of a half gourd or cocoanut with a stick fastened across it, while the latter is formed of a round flat piece of wood with the bambu handle fastened down the middle of it.

GROUP 3 — *T, Th, Th—Dh—EYE*

Th —The most obvious representation of the eye would be a circle, either with or without a dot in the centre. The former is the cerebral *th*, the latter the dental *th*, of the Asoka alphabet. The symbol, therefore, would represent roundness in general, and accordingly the cerebral *tha*, or simple circle, is a radical name for the disc of the sun, as well as for a circle, while the dental *tha* with a dot in the middle is one of the names for the eye. The similarity between the human eye and the sun in heaven is so striking, that it has been made use of by the poets from the time of the Vedas down to Lord Byron¹. In the Egyptian hieroglyphs a circle with a dot in the middle represented the sun, according to Clemens of Alexandria.

There is a direct connection between the Asoka forms of the cerebral and dental *th*, and the round flat non *thāwā*, or cooking "gudle," and the *thāl*, or "low circular wall," which is built around a young tree. Here the dot in the middle represents the tree, and the pictorial symbol is perfect. I presume that *Thakkur*, a god, was derived from *tha*, the "sun."

T, Dh —The cerebral *t* in the Asoka alphabet is an open semi-circle, and the dental *dh* a semi-circle closed by the diameter. These I take to be pictorial representations of a *tolia*, or "basket," and of a *dhamu*, or "bow." In the Egyptian hieroglyphs the basket is represented by the latter symbol with the value of *n* from *neb*, a basket. Here, again, the pictorial symbol of the object is the same in India as in Egypt, but as the phonetic value is different, the Indian form must have been arrived at by an independent process.

¹ Ino Veda Vol. IV, p. 138, Wilson's translation, "the eye of all." Compare Byron's "eye of the universe" in *Mosque of the Wandering Jew*.

The clouds that gather round the setting sun
Do take a sober colouring from a eye
That hath kept watch o'er man's mortality

D —As the probable origin of the letter *d* was the pictorial representation of a tooth, *danta*, this might have been at first a mere half circle like the *dh*, which was afterwards altered to the Asoka form by pointing the curved line and breaking the diameter or straight line into two short lines attached to the ends of the curve. But this is a mere suggestion which I put forward with much diffidence.

Another illustration of the pictorial form of the Asoka letter *dh* may be seen in the female breast, *dharaṇa*, from the root *dhri*, to "support, hold," &c. From the same root come the terms *dhṛá*, *dharaṇi*, and *dhātṛi* for the "earth," and as these also signify "mother," they may be compared with the *Demeter* or "mother earth" of the Greeks.

GROUP 4 — *P, B* — HAND and FOOT

The characteristic form of this group is a square, the *P* having the shape of three sides of a square open at the top, while the *B* is a complete square.

P. —The radical words connected with this letter are *pāni* the hand, and *pad*, the foot, with which are naturally connected the number "five" or *pancha*. The original pictorial representation was no doubt a "hand," with the five fingers pointed upwards. In course of time the three middle bars would have been omitted, leaving the symbol in the exact form of the Asoka letter. In its original shape it perhaps also represented the "ribs," *pāṇsu*, which are pictured by a similar symbol in the Egyptian hieroglyphs, but with the totally different value of *sh*. In the latter form, with the middle bars omitted, the Asoka letter has a fair pictorial representation of a "pair of wings," *paksha*, as well as of a "flower," *pushpa*, and more especially of the act of "worship or adoration," *pujā*, in holding up the outstretched arms towards heaven. This very form was in fact used by the Egyptians as their hieroglyph for "adoration," with the hands raised in worship. But the value of the Egyptian symbol was *K*, so that the Indian form could not have been borrowed from Egypt, but must have been reached by an independent local process.

B —The verbal roots connected with this letter are *bās*, a "house," *bāri*, a "window," *bāri*, a "garden" or courtyard, and *bera*, a "boat," all of which are of a square or oblong shape. The last is a Panjābi term for a flat-bottomed boat, with square prow and square stern. In the Egyptian hieroglyphs, the square or oblong represents a water tank, with the power of *sh*, or, with a small opening like a door, it represents a house with the power of *e*, both values being totally distinct from that of the Indian letter.

GROUP 5 — *M* MOUTH

The characteristic of this letter is a curved oblong form representing the mouth, which is found in exactly the same shape in the Egyptian hieroglyphs. But in Egypt the symbol had the value of *r*, from the term *ru*, a mouth. Perhaps the original Indian form may have had two short diverging lines attached on the top to represent moustaches, so that the symbol would then have been but slightly

different from the Asoka shape of the letter. With this addition the suggested old Indian form would have been a very good pictorial representation of a "fish," *matsya*, of an oblong bead, *manká*, of a *mangus* or ichneumon, of a *makara*, or crocodile, as well as of a *músa*, or mouse. Amongst the Egyptian hieroglyphs there is a similar form,—namely, an oblong with a fan-shaped top, but this is a picture of the eye with its upper lid or eyebrow.

GROUP 6—*T, V, N, K, R*—NOSE

The grouping together of so many apparently different letters may, perhaps, be thought rather arbitrary. But they appear to me to have the common *tie* of general similitude, as each character consists of an upright straight line, with a swell or extension at bottom, somewhat similar to the expansion of the human nostrils from the upright ridge of the nose. Perhaps the original form of some, if not of all, of these characters was a wedge or acutely-pointed triangle expanding at the base.

T—The characteristic root of this letter is the word *tan*, to "spread," or "stretch," which is preserved in the Greek *temó*, *tanum*, and in the Latin *tendo* and *tenus*, which last is the same as the Sanskrit *tanu*, "thin." Regarding the origin of the symbol, I can only suggest that it may have been derived from the hand with "outstretched" fingers, representing a "span" or *tálah*, or from the "spreading" foliage of the *tála* or "fan-palm." To this three-pointed form I would also refer the word *tára*, a "star," *tarang* a "wave," and *tri*, "three."

V—The shape of this Asoka letter is an upright stroke with a small circle, at the bottom of which the most characteristic pictorial example is the *víná*, or Indian "lute." This instrument was also one of the Egyptian hieroglyphs, but its phonetic value was *n* from the Egyptian *nofie*, a "guitar." Perhaps the Indian symbol included all straight lines with a single knob at the end. If so, it would be connected with *va* and *vahu*, an "aim," *vena* and *vansa*, a "bambu," *vindee*, a drop of water, and *ván*, an "arrow."

N—In the Asoka alphabet this letter is an upright stroke with a short straight stroke at bottom, of which I take the human nose to have been the original picture. The root *na* means the "nose" as well as the longer words *nak*, *nakat*, *nása*, &c, and the Latin *naso*. The common *nemi*, or wooden frame for the well-rope, seems to refer to the shape of the Asoka letter, as it usually consists of an upright timber let into a horizontal one below. Perhaps also *náku*, a white-ant hill, derived its name from its "nosey" or pyramidal appearance.

K—This letter in the alphabet of Asoka has no pictorial connection with the other gutturals *kh* and *g*, but seems rather to belong to the group of which I am now treating. Its form is an upright cross with even arms. But the pictorial forms which seem to be best suited to this shape are the "dagger," *ka* and *kattár*, the "straight sword," *kattí*, or the "cutter," *kuta*, a "peak," and *kíla*, a spike, all of which would seem to require the cross stroke nearer to the bottom of the letter. Perhaps *kíla*, flame, or lambent flame, refers to the narrow pyramidal shape of the original letter.

R —In the Asoka alphabets this letter is either a simple upright straight stroke, or a slightly undulating upright line. But as the radical *ra* means “fire,” it seems probable that the original form may have been a very thin wedge. This conjecture seems to be borne out by the word *rasmi*, a “sunbeam or ray of light.” Other words, however, would seem to refer to a perfectly straight line, such as *raji* and *rekha*, a “line, row, ridge,” *rayu*, a “cord or rope,” *rana*, a “fiddlestick,” and *ratha*, a “cane or ratan.” But, perhaps, the Greek *ris*, a “nose,” is in favour of the suggestion that the original symbol may have been a simple wedge.

GROUP 7 —*L, H* —LINGA or PHALLUS

I have placed these two letters together on account of their exact similitude in the Asoka inscriptions. It is true that they face different ways, but they have precisely the same shape, and were most probably connected with each other in their original conception. The former I take to be a simplified pictorial representation of the *linga*, or male member, and the latter of the elephant's trunk. But the exact shape of both the Asoka letters *l* and *h* is that of a sickle, with the handle placed horizontally, and the point of the curved blade upwards. Now, it is a curious corroboration of the suggested original connection between these two letters that the common names for a sickle begin with *l* and *h*. These are *lavāka*, *lavanaka*, and *lavita* from the Sanskrit *lu*, “to cut,” and the Hindi *hansiya* and *hansua*, which were probably so named from their resemblance to the form of a *hansa*, or goose.

L —This letter monopolises most of the names in common use for the *phallus* or male member, such as *lar*, *lār*, *laur*, *lul*, *land*, *lāngal*, and *linga*. The names of other objects suggested by the shape of the letter are *langar*, an “anchor,” and *lāngal*, a “plough.” These words recall the old Sicilian *Danklon* or *Zanklon*, a “sickle,” which gave its name to the island of Zankle. And as all these names represent some *bent* object, it seems probable that the Indian term *ankus* for an “elephant goad” may have been originally *lankus*, as descriptive of its hooked form. Perhaps also the Greek *ankón*, *ankulé* and *ankura*, and the Latin *angulus*, may each have lost an initial *l* or other letter.

H —The “hand,” *hasta*, in the shape of the elephant's trunk, or *hasti*, is the characteristic form of this letter. The striking handiness of the animal's trunk suggested to Lucretius the well-known epithet of *angustimanus*¹. I have already noticed that the letters *L* and *H* furnish separate names for the “sickle,” and I may now add for the “plough” also, as the Sanskrit *hala*, a plough, is the exact equivalent of the Hindi *lāngal*. The sickle is also one of the Egyptian hieroglyphs.

GROUP 8 —*S, Sh* The EAR

The representatives of this class are the three sibilants, the palatal *s*, the cerebral *sh*, and the dental *s*. Now, the only member of man's body that has not been included in the previous summary is the *ear*. This has several names in Sanskrit, all

¹ De Rerum Natura, II, 538. Angustimanus elephantos

beginning with the palatal *s* as *srava*, *śruti*, and *śrotra*, from the root *śru*, to "hear" But what is heard is "sound," or *śabda*, and the element that makes the most noise is "water," or *śā* Hence we have *saras*, a "lake," and "*śarit*," a river, as well as *saisarāna*, to "ripple" I take the palatal *s* of Asoka's time to be a simple form of the original pictorial representation of the human ear Its shape is that of a parabola with a vertical line, or a dot in the middle, the latter representing the *meatus auditorius* As the cerebral *śh* is only the last letter reversed, and is not found in any of Asoka's inscriptions, it seems probable that it was the invention of a later date As such its shape need not be discussed here

The dental sibilant is formed of two undulations, one up and one down, with a short stroke attached at the top of the rise The whole represents pictorially both a serpent with a single coil and a complete wave, with its hollow and its crest Now, the radical word of this letter is *sa* or *śarpa*, a "serpent," which was probably the original picture of the symbol

In my comparison of the characters of the ancient Indian alphabet with the pictorial forms of different objects, I have not thought it worth while to make any examination of the vowels for two reasons *first*, because their shapes do not suggest any pictorial representatives, and *second*, because I believe them to be of a comparatively late date, that is, somewhat posterior to the formation of separate syllabic characters in which the vowel formed part of the complete syllable, and, therefore, of exactly the same age as the first alphabetic characters

In devising the vowel marks I think it probable that an arbitrary system of simple strokes was adopted At first these would seem to have been independent marks not attached to the consonants, as in the two examples on the black stone seal from Harapa which I have read as *a* and *i*¹ At the foot of the accompanying plate I have given all these conjectural forms of the archaic vowels side by side with the Asoka vowels for the sake of easy comparison Some of these forms appear to me to be almost certain, while the remainder are at least highly probable, if a similar system was followed in their formation

In this brief examination of the letters of the old Indian alphabet, I have compared their forms at the time of Asoka, or B C 250, with the pictures of various objects and of the different members of the human frame, and the result of my examination is the conviction that many of the characters still preserved, even in their simpler alphabetical forms, very strong and marked traces of their pictorial origin My comparison of the symbols with the Egyptian hieroglyphs shows that many of them are almost identical representations of the same objects But as the Indian symbols have totally different values from those of Egypt, it seems almost certain that the Indians must have worked out their system quite independently, although they followed the same process They did not, therefore, borrow their alphabet from the Egyptians It is, of course, quite possible that the hint may have been taken from Egypt, but considering the distance and the difficulty of communication between the two countries in those early times, this does

¹ This will shortly be described and examined See Plate XXVIII

not seem very probable. Indeed, there is one very strong argument against it, which I think is almost, if not quite conclusive, namely, that the Indians do not seem to have possessed any extended scheme of numerical notation before the time of Asoka, which they certainly would have had if they had borrowed their alphabet from Egypt, as I contend that they would have taken the Egyptian system of numerals at the same time.

Now, if the Indians did not borrow their alphabet from the Egyptians, it must have been the local invention of the people themselves, for the simple reason that there was no other people from whom they could have obtained it. Their nearest neighbours were the peoples of Ariana and Persia, of whom the former used a Semitic character of Phœnician origin reading from right to left, and the latter a cuneiform character formed of separate detached strokes, which has nothing whatever in common with the compact forms of the Indian alphabet.

But if the Indian alphabet was thus locally elaborated by the people themselves, it may be urged that some traces of its previous existence would ere this have been discovered, if not of its earlier stages of pictures and hieroglyphs, at least of its later stages of syllables and archaic letters. This would be a formidable objection if all our ancient sites had been already thoroughly explored. But as yet, except in a few places, we have but skimmed the surface, and gathered whatever was to be found above ground, while the older remains still lie buried beneath the soil. It is possible, also, that some specimens even of the earlier writings may have been found previously, and have been passed by as rude sculptures of little or no value. I have, however, come across one monument which I believe to be a specimen of the archaic alphabetical writing. Its age is, of course, quite uncertain, but I do not think its date can be later than 500 or 400 B. C. This monument is a seal of smooth black stone, which was found by Major Clark in the ruins of Harapâ in the Panjâb¹. On it is engraved very deeply the figure of a bull without hump, looking to the right, with a symbol on its shoulder and a second symbol and a star under its neck. Above the bull there is an inscription of six unknown characters, which on first seeing I thought could not be Indian, but which I now think may be archaic Indian letters of as early an age as Buddha himself. Taking the characters from the left, the first may be an ancient form of the letter *l*, as it approaches very close to the shape of the Asoka character. The third seems to be an old form of *chh*, and the fourth a true archaic *m* in the shape of a fish, *matsya*. The fifth must be another vowel, perhaps *z*, and the sixth may be an old form of *y*. The whole would thus read *Lachhmaya*.

The chief difficulty about this reading is the detached position of the two sets of symbols read as vowels. But there does not seem to be any good reason why the vowels should not have been detached letters originally. The two short strokes which I have read as *z* are precisely the two strokes of the long attached *z* in the Asoka inscriptions, and the two long strokes read as *a* may easily have been the archaic form of the initial *â* of Asoka's inscriptions. This reading is, of course, merely tentative, and I only put it forward in the hope that others who are more com-

¹ See Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. V, p. 108, and Plate XXX fig. 1. See also Plate XXVIII of the present volume.

potent may be induced to take up the subject, and carry it through to some conclusive results which may be generally accepted

In the meantime, I wish to bring to notice the fact that the well-known conventional signs for the five planets may be formed by merely adding a *star* to the radical letter of each of the five classes of the alphabetical letters of Asoka, while the sun and moon are the actual radical letters of the other two classes of the Indian alphabet without any change or other addition. I find it difficult to believe that this can be an accidental coincidence, but as I am not prepared to offer a complete explanation, all that I can do is to add a few notes pointing out the formation of each sign ¹

1 *The Sun* This is represented by the Asoka *dental* aspirate *tha*, which is a circle with a dot in the middle. *Tha* is one of the Sanskrit names of the sun

2 *The Moon*. This is represented by the Asoka *palatal* letter *j*, which has the form of the lunar crescent with a small circle inside. This is called *netra yoni* or the "eye of the yoni," and is one of the Sanskrit names of the moon, *Jun* is also a name of the moon

3 *Mars*—The sign of this planet is the Asoka semi-vowel *r*, compounded with a star or upright cross. *Ra* is the radical for *fire*, which is the element presided over by the regent of the planet

4. *Mercury*—The sign of this planet is the Asoka *labial* letter *m* with a star or cross attached below. *Marika* and *Marut* are Sanskrit names for the *wind*, the element presided over by the regent of the planet Mercury, whose Latin name seems to be connected with the Sanskrit word *marka*

5 *Jupiter*—The sign of this planet is the Asoka letter *lh* with a star added to the right foot—*kha* is the Sanskrit radical for "*ether or sky*," the element presided over by the regent of the planet Jupiter, the god of the firmament.

6 *Venus* The sign of this planet is the Asoka *cerebral* letter *tha*, with a star attached below. *Tha* means the "cherisher or nourisher," and is an epithet of the *Earth*, who, as the general nourisher of all, may be identified with *Alma Venus* as well as with *Demeter*

7 *Saturn*.—The sign of this planet is the Asoka palatal sibilant *S*, with a star added to the left top. *Sani* is the god of the *watery* element, of which the characteristic is "sound," in Sanskrit *sa* and *sabda*

To those who may wish to pursue this subject further I may add that each of the planets had its appropriate colour, as well as its own particular metal and wood, of which alone the figure of the regent of the planet ought to be made, thus—

Firstly—The colour of the Sun was *yellow*, its appropriate metal *gold*, and its precious stone the yellow *diamond*

Secondly—The colour of the Moon was *white*, its appropriate metal *silver*, and its precious stone *rock crystal*

Thirdly—The colour of Mars was *green*, its appropriate metal *iron* (or cutting bronze) and its precious stones the *emerald* and the *blood-stone*

¹ See Plate XXVIII, where the symbols are given along with the Asoka characters with which they correspond

Fourthly —The colour of Mercury was *black*, its appropriate metal was *quicksilver*, and its precious stones the *sparsamani*, or “touch-stone,” and the “magnet,” both of which are black¹ It was the difficulty of procuring black wood that gave currency to the saying, *Non ex quovis ligno fiet Mercurius*

Fifthly —The colour of Jupiter was *grey*, its appropriate metal was *tin*, and its precious stones were the *opal* and the *chalcedony* or milk-stone.

Sixthly —The colour of Venus was *red*, its appropriate metal was *copper*, and its precious stones were the *red cornelian* and the *amethyst*

Seventhly The colour of Saturn was *blue*, its appropriate metal was *lead*, and its precious stone the *sapphire*, which was generally known as *Sani-priya*, or “Saturn’s favourite,”—and *nilamani*, “the blue gem”

¹ *Sparsa* means the wind, and the “wind stone” was, of course, dedicated to the regent of the air It is now called *Paras*

TEXTS.

ROCK INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

AT

SHÂHBÂZGARHI, KHÂLSI, GIRNÂR, DHAULI, AND JAUGADA

EDICT I.

S	Ayam	dhammalipi	[	<i>omitted</i>	]	Devanampriyasa	* * *
K	Iyam	dhammalipi	[	<i>do</i>	]	Devanampiyena	Piyadasinâ
G	Iyam	dhammalipi	[	<i>do</i>	]	Devanampiyena	Piyadasinâ
D	* *	dha * *	* * * * s1	pavatası		Devanampiyē *	* * *
J	Iyam	dhammalipi	Khepingalası	pavatası		Devanampiyena	Piyadasinâ
S	Ranyo	ikhapi	Hidam	lo ke *	jiva	* * *	* * *
K	* *	ikhapi	Hida	no kichhi	jive	alabbitu	paja
G	Ranyâ	ikhapitâ	Idhı	na kinchi	jivam	ârabhidâ	paju
D	Lajo	* * *	* *	* * *	* vam	alabbitu	pajapa
J	Lajina	ikhâpitâ	Hida	no kichhi	jivam	âlabhiti	pajâ
S	* * *	cha pi *	sama*	* * *	* * *	* * *	* *
K	hitaviye	² no pi cha	samaje	kataviye	bahukam	hi	
G	hitavyam	⁴ na cha	samaje	katavyo	bahukam	hi	
D	* * *	* * *	* *	² * * *	bahukam	hi	
J	hitaviye	² no pi cha	samaje	kataviye	bahukam	hi	
S	* * *	* * *	* * *	* * *	* * *	* * *	* * *
K	dosa	samejsa		Devanampiyē	Piyadasi	Lâja	dakhati
G	dosam	⁵ samajamhi	pisati	Devanampiyō	Piyadasi	Rajâ	
D	* * *	* * *	* *	* * nam *	* * *	* * *	* * *
J	dosam	samejsa	dakhati	Devânampiyē	Piyadasi	Lâja	
S	² ati pi *	³ katiya	samryasa	samato		Devanampriyasa	
K	athi pichâ	ekatiya	samâjâ	sâdhumata		Devanampiyâ	
G	⁶ asti pitu	ekacha	samajı	sadhumatâ		⁷ Devanampiyasa	
D	* * *	ekachâ	samajısa	sadhumata		Devanampiyasa	
J	athi pichu	ekatiya	samaja	sadhumata		Devânampiyasa	
S	Piyadasısa	Ranyo	para	mahanasasa	Devânampriyasa	Piyadasinâ	
K	Piyadasisâ	Lujine	³ pale	mahanasansi	Devanampiyasa	Piyadasisa	
G	Piyadasino	Ranyo	puia	mahanasaphi	⁸ Devanampiyasa	Piyadısino	
D	³ Piyadasine	Lâjine	* *	maha * *	* * nam * *	Piya *	
J	³ Piyadasıne	Lâjine	pulavam	mahanapası	Devânampiyasa	Piyadasıne	
S	Ranyo	anudivasam	bahuni	panı	taha* asanı	* *	
K	Lâjine	anudivasam	bahuni		satasahasani	âlabhıyisu	
G	Ranyo	anudivasam	⁹ bahuni	pana	satasahasani	ârabhısu	
D	*	* *	bahuni*	pana*	satasahasani	âlabhıyisu	
J	Lujine	anudivasam	buhuni	pana	satasahâsamı	âlabhıyı	

S	*	*	*	*	*	* 3dharmalipi	likhita
K	supāthāya	se imāni	yadā	iyam	dhammal pi	lekhita	
G	supāthaya	¹⁰ sa aja	yada	ayam	dhammalipi	likhitatī	
D	susupathaye	⁴ se aja	ada	iyam	dhammalipi	likhitā	
J	susupathāye	⁴ se aja	(*) ada	iyam	dhammalipi	likhitā	
S		anatam	yo va	pi nam	ganeti	* * *	jatā kate
K	tada	tāniye	vi	panani	ālabhiyanti		³ deva mājāh
G			eva	pāna	ārabhire	supāthāya	dwāmera
D		tinni	* * *	* * *	*labhiya	* * *	* * *
J		tinniye	vam	panāni	alabhiyanti	* * *	duvema
S	sti	mage	na	so	pi	mage	na dhava
K	eke	mige		se	piye	mige	no dhave
G	eho	mago		so	pi	mago	na dhuro
D	* * *	* * *		* * *	* * *	* * *	* * *
J	eke	mige		se	pichu	mige	no dhuvam
S	esa	pe		panam	trayī	pacha	arabhisanti
K	esani	pi	tini	pānāni		no	ālabhiyanti
G	ete	patī		pānā		pachhā	na ārabhisante
D	* * *	* * *	tinni	pānāni		punchhā	nā ālabhiyanti
J	etāni	pichu	tinni	panani		pachhā	no ālabhiyanti

EDICT II

S	Savātam	vijite	Devānampriyasa	Priyadasisa	Ranyo	* * *
K	Savata	vijitamsi	Devanampiyasa	Piyadasisa	Lājine	yecha antā
G	Savāta	vijitamhi	Devanampiyasa	Piyādasino	Ranyo	² vamapipāchantesu
D	⁵ Savata	vijitamsi	Devanampiyasa	Piyadasine	Lā * *	* * *
J	Savātam	vijitasi	Devanampiyasa	Piyadasino	Lājine	evāpi antā
S	yī *	* * *	⁴ Prindiya	Satiyaputra	cha	Ketalaputra
K	matha	Choda	Pandiyā	Satiyaputo		Kethālaputo
G	yatha	Choda	Panda	Satiyaputo		Ketalaputo
D	* * *	* * *	* * *	* * *		
J	athā	Chodā	Pandiyā	Satiyaput*		
S		Tambapani	ANTIYOKENE		Yona	Rajayo
K		Tambapanini	⁵ ANTIYOGĒ	nāma	Yona	Lājāne
G	a	³ Tambapanini	ANTIYAKO		Yona	Rajaye
D			ANTIYOKE	nāma	Yona	Lājā
J			ANTIYOKĒ	nama	⁷ Yona	Lajā e—
S	cha	aranya	tasa	ANTIYOKASA	samanta	Ranyayo
K	chā	alanne	tasa	ANTIYOGASA	samantā	Lājāne
G	va pi	* * *	tasa	ANTIYAKASĀ	sāminam	⁴ Rajāno
D	⁶ vā pi		tasa	ANTIYOKASA	sāmantā	Lājāne
J	vāpi		tasa	ANTIYOKASA	samanta	Lājāne
S	sarvato	Devānampriyasa	Priyadasisa	Ranyo	hisa	kabha
K	savata	Devanampiyasā	Piyadasisa	Lājine	duve	chikisāchha
G	savata	Devānampiyasa	Piyadasino	Rānyo	dwe	chukichha
D	savata	Devanampiyasa	*Piyadasino	* * *	* * *	* * *
J	savata	Devanampiyena	Piyadasinā	Laji		

S	* * *	* * *	~ ~ ~		* * *	* * *	* * *
K	katâ	manusa	chikisâ	cha	pasu	chikisâ	cha
G	katâ	⁵ manusa	chikichhâ	cha	pasu	chikichha	cha
D	~ * *	* sa	chikisâ	cha	pasu	chikisâ	cha
J	-		chikisâ	cha	⁸ pasu	chikisâ	cha

S	* * *	* * *	* ⁵ esa (P)	janasopakani	cha	pasopakani	cha
K	osadhâni			manusopaganî	cha	pasopagâni	cha
G	osudhâni (a)	cha	yani	manusopaganî	cha	⁶ pasopagâni	cha
D	(osa) dhâni	"	anni	munisopagâni		pasun opagâni	cha
J	osadhâni		âni	munisopagâni		pasun opagâni	cha

S	yata	yatra	nâsti	savatra	harapiti	cha	
K	âta	tâ	nâthi	⁶ savatâ	hâlapitâ	châ	
G	yata	yata	nâsti	savatâ	harâpitâni	cha	
D		atata	nathi	savatâ	hâlapitâ	cha	
J		atata	nathi	sava	* * *	* * *	

S				[omitted]			
K	lopâpitâ	cha	savameva	mulâni	cha	phalâni	cha
G	ropâpitâni	cha	⁷	mulâni	cha	phalanî	cha
D	lopâpita	cha		mulani			yata
J						cha	ata

S				[omitted]			
K		nâthi	savata	hâlopita	cha	lopâpitâ	cha
G	yata	nâsti	savata	hâlapitâni	cha	ropâpitâni	cha
D			vata	hâlopita	cha	⁸ lopâpitâ	cha
J	ta	nâthi	savata	hâlapitâ	cha	lopâpitâ	cha

S	vata	cha	lupa	cha	khânapita		
K	matesu		lukhâ	cha	mâhithani	udapanani	
G	⁸ pathesu		krûpa	cha	khânapitâ	vachhâ	cha
D	matesu		udapânâni		khânapitani	lukhani	cha
J	matesu		udapanâni		khânapitani	lukhâni	cha

S		pratibhogaye	pasu	manusânam			
K	khânapitani	patibhogâye	pasu	munisânam			
G	ropâpita	patibhogâya	pasu	manusânam			
D	lopâpitâni	patibhogâye	pa	[†] nusânam			
J			-				

EDICT III

S	Devanampriye	Priyadasi	Ranya	ahati	Baiaya	vasha
K	Devânampriye	Piyadasi	Lâjâ *	hevam	⁷ Duvâdasâ	vasâ
G	Devânampriyo	Piyadasi	Râjâ	evam	Dwâdasa	vasâ
D	Devânampriye	Piyadasi	Lajâ	hevam	Duvâdasa	vasâ
J	Devânampriye	Piyadasi	Lâjâ	hevam	Duvâdasa	vasâ

(a) The first letter of this word is the initial o and not u

ROCK EDICT IV

S	Atikatam	antaram	bahuni	vashīsatāni	vadhito va	pranāmbho
K	⁹ Atikatam	antalam	bṛhūni	vasīsatāni	vadhitevā	pānalambhe
G	Atikatam	antaram	bahuni	vasasatāni	vadhito eva	pānārambho
D	¹² Atikantam	antalam	bahūni	vasasatāni	vadhiteva	paṇalambhe
J	Atikantam	antalam	bahūni	vasasatāni	vadhiteva	pānalambhe

S	vihisa	cha	bhutanam	nyatinu	asapatipatī	Sramanam	Bramanam
K	vihinsā	cha	bhutanam	nātīnā	asampatipatī	Samana	Bambhānānam
G	vihinsā	cha	bhutanam	nyātīsu	asampatipatī	Bāhmanā	Samrānānam
D	vihinsā	cha	bhutanam	nātisu	asampatipatī	Samana	Babhanesu
J	* *	* *	* *	* *	* *	* *	* *

S	sīpatipatī	tu rja	Devānam	priya *	* * * *	* *
K	asampatipatī	sā aja	Devanam	piyasā	Piyadasīno	Lājane
G	asampatipatī	tr rja	Devanam	piyasa	Piyadasīno	Raṇīyo
D	asampatipate	¹³ se aja	Devanam	piyasa	Piyadasīne	Lājine
J	* * *	se aja	Devānam	piyasa	Piyadasīne	Lājine

S	⁸ dharmacharane	bherigisha	aha	dharmagosha	vīmanena	dasanena
K	dharmāchalanenā	bhelighose	aho	dharmaghose	vīmāna	dasanam
G	³ dharmachalanena	bherighoso	aho	dharmaghoso	vīmāna	dasanā
D	dharmachalanena	bhelighosam	aho	dharmaghosam	vīmāna	dasanam
J	dharmachalanena	bhel	* *	* *	* *	* *

S		ne		natikadhani		anyani	
K		¹⁰ hathini		agikhandani		annāni	
G	cha	hasti	dasanā	cha	⁴ agikhandani	cha	anyani
D	* *	hathini	* *	* *	agikhandani	* *	annāni
J	* *	* *	* *	* *	* *	* *	* *

S	cha	dīvani	rupani	dasayitu	janasa	yadisam	bahu
K	chā	dīvyāni	lupāni	dasayitu	janasa	ādīsam	bahu
G	cha	dīvyāni	rupāni	dasayī	pujanam	yarise	bahu
D	cha	dīvyāni	¹⁴ lupanam	dasayitu	muniśanam	ādīse	bahu
J	* *	dīvyāni	lupani	dasayita	muniśanam	ādīse	bahu

S	hi	vrasha	satehi	na	bhuta	purve	tadise
K	hi	vasa	satehi	nā	huta	puluve	tādise
G	hi	vasa	satehi	⁵ na	bhūta	puve	tarise
D	hi	vasa	satehi	no	hūta	puluve	tadise
J	hi	vasa	sate	*	* *	* *	* *

S	aja	vadhute	Devānampriyasa	Priyadarsisa	Ranyo	dharmānusanstaya
K	aja	vadhute	Devānampiyasā	Piyadasino	Lājine	dharmānusathīye
G	aja	vadhute	Devānampiyasa	Piyadasino	Ranyo	dharmānusathīya
D	aja	vadhī (te)	Devānampiyasa	Piyadasine	Lājine	dharmānusathīya
J	* *	* *	* *	* *	* *	¹⁷ dharmānusathīyā

S	anaram	⁴ nanam	avihisa	bhutana	nyatasa	* * *	* * *
K	analambhe	pānānam	avihinsa	bhutanam	nātīsam	¹¹ sampatipatī	Bambhana
G	⁶ anarambho	pānānam	avihinsā	bhutanam	nyātīnam	sīmpatipatī	Bahmāna
D	¹⁵ analambhe	pānanam	avihinsā	bhutanam	nātisu	sampatipatī	Samana
J	anālambe	pānānam	avihinsa	bhutanam	nātīsunam	s	* *

S	⁹ Sramananam	sampatipatī	meta	pitashu	tu ari sususha esam	inya
K	Samanānam	sampatipatī	māta	pitāsu	susūsā khāsā cha	anne
G	Samanānam	sampatipatī	mātari	pitari	⁷ susūsā thariri susūsā esā	anye
D	Babhanesu	sampatipatī	matu	pitū	susūsam va susūsā esā	anne
J	*	*	*	*	*	¹⁸ esā anne

S	cha	bahuvadham	dharmacharanam	vadhutam	vadhīsati	chayo	Devānampiyasa
K	cha	bahūvidhe	dharmachalane	vadhite	vadhīyāsati	chevā	Devānampiyo
G	cha	bahuvīdhe	dharmacharane	vadhite	vadhīyāsati	cheva	Devānampiyo
D	cha	bahuvīdhe	¹⁶ dharmachalane	vadhite	vadhīyāsati	cheva	Devānampiye
J	cha	bahūvidhe	dharmachalane	vadhite	vadhīyā	*	*

S	Priyadarsisa	Ranyo	dharmacharanam ime	putra pi cha kunatavocho
K	Piyadasi	Lāja	imam dharmacharanam	puta cha kunatāla chā
G	⁸ Piyadasi	Rajā	dharmacharanam idam	puta cha potu cha
D	Piya *	Lāja	dharmachalanam imam	putupi cha natī *
J	*	*	*	*

S	pranātika	cha	Devānampiyasa	Priyadarsisa	Ranya	vadhīsanti	*
K	panātikya	cha	Devānampiyasā	Piyadasine	Lājine	¹² vadhīyāsanti	yeva
G	papotā	cha	Devānampiyasa	Piyadasino	Ranyo	⁹ vadhīyāsanti	idam
D	pa	cha	Devānampiyasa	Piyadasina	Lājine	¹⁷ pavadhīyāsanti	yeva
J	*	*	cha	¹⁹ Piyadasine	Lājine	pavadhīyāsanti	yeva

S		icha	pavata	kupa	dharmasila	*
K	dharmachalanam	ima	āva	kupam	dharmasā	silasā vā
G	dharmacharanam	ā va	savata (a)	kapā	dhammamhi	silamhi
D	dharmachalanam	imam		akepam	dharmasā	silasā cha
J	dharmachal	*	*	*	*	*

S	ti mato	dharmā	anusāsīsanti	eva	esa	*	yuta
K	tithāto	dharmam	anusāsīsanti	ese	hi sothe	kamme	ana
G	tistanto	dharmam	anusāsīsanti	¹⁰ esa	hise sto	kamme	yā
D	vithitu	*	anusāsīsanti	esa	hise	me	yā
J	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

S	nusasanam	dharmacharanam	pi cha	na bhoti	asilasa se	imasu
K	dhammānusāsānam	dharmachalana	pi chā	no hoti	asilasā se	imisa
G	dhammānusāsānam	dharmacharane	pi na	bhavati	asilā sava	imamhi
D	dhammānusāsānam	dharmachalana	pi chu	¹⁸ no hoti	asilasa se	imasa
J	*	²⁰ dharmachalane	piehu	no ho	*	*

S	yatasa	vadhī	ahini	cha	sadhu	etaye	athaye	ima
K	athasa	vadhī	ahini	cha	sadhu	etaye	athāye	ima
G	athamhi	¹¹ dhi cha	ahini	cha	sadhu	etaya	athaya	ida
D	athasa	vadhī	ahini	cha	sādhu	etāye	athaye	iyam
J	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

S	lipitham	imisa	athasa	vadhiya	nyantu	hini	maḥiga
K	likhite	¹³ imasa	athasa	vadhīyu	jantu	hini	cha mā alochayisu
G	lekḥāpitam	imasa	athasa	vadhiya	jantu	hini	cha ¹² lochetivya
D	likhite	imasa	athasa	vadhīyu	jantu	hini	cha mā alochayisū
J	*	*	*	*	*	hini	cha mā alochayī

(a) Prinsep's first reading of this word was *pavata*, and the totally different form of the Ariano Pali *p* in the Shahbazgarhi text shows that the first reading of *pavata* may be correct, although the first letter is clearly *s* in the Girnar text

S	baratṛ	vaishabhisitena	Devānampiyasa	Piyadarsisa	Ranya	idam	lipikhatam (a)
K	duvādasā	vasabhisitene	Devanampiyena	Piyadasine	Lajuno		lekhitā
G	dwādasā	vasabhisitena	Devānampiyena	Piyadasino	Rānyo	idam	lekḥāpitam
D	¹⁹ duvādasā	vasanabhisitasa	Devānampiyasa	Piyadasine	Lājine	ya *	likhite
J	* x	* ~ *	* *	~ *	* *	* *	* *

ROCK EDICT V.

S	¹¹ Devānampiya	Piyadarsi	Rayo	evam	ahatine	kayana	dukara
K	Devanampiyē	Piyadasi	Laja	(omitted)	ahā	kayāne	dukale
G	Devanampiyo	Piyadasi	Rājā	evam	āhā	kalāna	dukaranye
D	²⁰ (De)vānampiya	Piyadasi	Lāja	hevam	ahā	kayane	dukale
J	Devanampiyē	Piyada	* *	* *	* *	* *	* *

S	va lapachha	so	dasaram	karotī	1	maya	bahu
K	e adikale kayānā	sā	dukālam	kaletī	se	maya	bahu
G	a kalane	saso	dukaram	karotī	² ta	mayā	bahu
D	kayānā	sase	dukalam	kaletī	se	me	bahuke
J							

S	karana	kata		maha	putra	cha	nataro cha
K	kayane	kate	* *	mama	puta	cha	nata cha
G	kalānam	kata	ta	mama	putā	chā	potā cha
D	kayane	kate	tam	ye me	putā	va	²¹ nata cha (b)
J				—	—		²³ nantī cha

S	paran	cha	tanaya	me apācham	ammantī	ava	
K	¹⁴ palan	cha	tenīya	apatine me		āva	
G	paran	cha	tenaya	me apācham		āva	samvanta
D	palan	cha	tenaye	apatīye me		āva	
J	palan	cha	te *				

S	kapam	tatha ye anuvati santi	te	sakita	kusati	yo cha
K	kapam	atha anuvatisanti	se	sukatam	kachhanti	tha eva
G	kapā	anuvatisare tathā	³ so	sukatam	kasati	yo tu
D	kapam	tathā anuvatisanta	sa	sukatam	kachhati	* ehe
J	* *	* *	* *	* *	* *	* *

S	atī (c)	desam	prihapisata	sa	dukatam	kushauti	papamha
K	hetī	desam	pihāpiyasati	so	dukatam	kāchhati	pipā hī
G	eta	desam	pihāpesati	so	dukatam	kasati	* *
D	ta	desam	pihapayasati	so	dukatam	kachhati	pāpehi
J							

S	sahane	Atikātam	antaram	na	bhuta	puva
K	nāma su padālayese	Atikātam	antalam	no	huta	puluvā
G	Sukaramhī pāpam	Atikātam	antaram	⁴ na	bhuta	puvam
D	²² supudālayesu	Atikātam	antalam	no	hūta	puluvā
J						

(a) The two letters *p* and *kh* seem to have been transposed in this word, which should be read *likhapitam*

(b) As the two letters *g*, and *t* are easily mistaken, this word should no doubt be *nata* as in the two northern texts, and not *Naga* Mr Beglar's impression gives *nata*, and so does his photograph

(c) The initial letter might perhaps be *h* instead of *a*, as these two characters in Ariano Palī are very much alike

S	dharmamahamatam	nama	sa	ti	* * varshabhīṣitena *
K	dharmamahamāta	namā	so		dasavasābhīṣitena mameva
G	dharmamahāmātā	nama	ta mayā	to	dasavasabhīṣi (tena)
D	dharmamahamātā	nāma	se	te	dasavasābhīṣitena mo
J					

S	¹² deya dharmamahamatra	kita	te	save	pashandesu
K	dharmamahāmātā			sava	pāśandesu
G	dharmamahāmāta	katā	te	sava	pasandesu
D	dharmamahamātā nāma	katā	te	sava	pāśandesu
J					

S		dharmadhṛitayo	cha	dharmavadhiya	hita	sukhaya
K	viyapaj	¹⁵ dhammadhitanaye		dhammavadiye	hita	sukhaye
G	vyapatā	dhammadhītanaya				—
D	²³ viyapatha	dhammadhīthanīye		dhammavadiye	hita	sukhāye
J		—		—		—

S	dharmayuthasa		Yo (a)	Kambayo	Gandharanam,	Rastikanam
K	vi dhammayutaso	tam	Yonam,	Kambojam,	Gandhālānam,	—
G	dharmayūtasā	cha	Yonam,	Kambo(cham),	Gandhā ānam, (b)	Rāstika
D	cha dhammayuta	sā	Yona,	Kambocha,	Gandhālesu,	Lathika,
J						

S	Pitikanam, ta	vapi		Aparanta	bhatamayeshu	
K	- e	vapi	anne	Apalantā	bhatamayesu	
G	Petenikānam ye	vapi	anna	Aparatā	bhatamayesu	va
D	Pitenikesu e	vapi	anne	Apalantā	bhati	
J	—					

S	Bramanibheshu		anatheshu	vathashu	—	hita	sukhaye
K	Bambhanithisu		annathesu	vathesu	—	hida	sukhāye
G			—			⁶	sukhāye
D	²⁴ Babhani	bhisasu	anathesu	mahalokesu	cha	hita	sukhāye
J	—		—				

S	dharmayutasa	aparigodhra	vapita te	¹³ bandhanam	badhasa	pativīdhanaye
K	dhammayutāye	apalibodbaye	viyapata	se bandhanam	badhasa	pativīdhanāya
G	dhammayutauam	aparigodbaya	vyāpatā, te	bandhana	badhasa	pativīdhanāya
D	dhammayutaye	apalibodbaya	viyapatā	se bandhanam	badhasa	pativī * * ya
J	—					—

S	aparibodhaye	mochavanavīye			pajati	kita
K	apalibodhaye	mokhaye cha	eyam	anubandha	pajāvativī	¹⁶ katā
G				—	pajā	katā
D	apalibodhaye	mokhāye cha	²⁵ iyam	anubandha	pajāti	katā
J		²⁷ mokhāye				

S	bhikati	va	mahālaka	va viyapata	ti eha	bāhreshu
K	bhikāletī	vā	mahālaketī	vā viyapatā	te hida	bāhilesu
G	bhikaresu	va	thairesu	vī vyapatā	te Pātāipute	bāhiresu
D	bhikāletī	va	mahālaketī	vā viyapatā	se hida	bāhilesu
J						

(a) The letter *n* is here omitted in the Shahbazgarhi text

(b) Prinsep here read *Gandhara*, *Naristika*, but the true reading is that given in the text. Similarly in the Dhauhi text the *su* of his *Sulathika* belongs to the previous name *Gandhalesu*—leaving *Lathika* as the corresponding equivalent of *Rastika* in the Shahbazgarhi and Gurnar texts

S	cha	nagareshu	sarveshu	orodhaneshu	—	bhrituna	cha
K	cha	nagalesu	savesu	holodhanesu		bhatuna	cha na
G	cha			—	eva		—
D	cha	nagalesu	savesu (a)	olodhanesu	evāhi	bhatanam	va
J				—			
S	mekasuna cha yevapi anye	nyatika	sivatam	viyapata	ya	ayam	
K	bhaginīya evāpi anna	nātika	savatā	viyapata	e	iyam	
G	— ⁸ ne vāpi me anye	nyatika	savata	vyapata	te yo	ayam	
D	bhaginīnam va ²⁶ annesu	va natita	savata	viyapatā	cha	iyam	
J							
S	dhamma	nistisita tivara dharmadhritane	tiva	dannasayutra	va		
K	dhamma	nistitivā dānasayute	tivā	savata majata	chha	mama	
D	dhamma	nistito tiva					
G	dhamma	nistativam dhammādhritāne,	tiva	dānasayute	va sava	prithiviyam	
J							
S	astī anatī mata	dharmayutasa vana	viyapala	e	dhammamahamatra	etaye	
K	—	dhammayutasi	viyapatale		dhammamahamātā	etāye	
G					dhammamahamātā	etaya	
D		dhammayutasi	viyapatā	ime	dhammamahamātā	imaye	
J							
S	athaya	vyo	dharmalipi	lipi *	* * thuti va tūika bhota panja	anuvatanu	
K	athāye	¹⁷ iyam	dhammalipi	likhitā	chulathitakyā hotu tathā che me pya	anuvatanu	
G	athāya	vyam	dhammalipi	likhitā			
D	athāye	²⁷ iyam	dhammalipi	likhitam	chulathuti hotu cha me paja *	anuvatau	
J							

EDICT VI

S	¹⁴ Devānampriyo	Priyadarsi	Raja	evam	ahati	atikatam	antalām
K	Devānampriye	Piyadasi	Lāja	hevam	āhā	atikatam	antalām
G		— si	Raja	evam	āha	atikatam	antaram
D	Devānampriye	Piyadasi	Lāja	hevam	āhā	atikantam	antalām
J	¹ Devānampriyo	Piyadasi	Lajā	hevam	āhā	atikatam	antalām

S	na	bhuta	puya	sava	la (b)		
K	no	hūta	puluve	savam	kālam	atha	hammevā
G	na	bhūta	puyā	sa	la	atha	hamme va
D	no	hūta	pulūve	savam	kālam	atha	hamme va
J	no	huta	puluve	savam	kalam	atha	hamme va

S	patimadhra	ta		maya	eva	kita	savam
K	pativedanā	vā sa	ma	mayu	hevam	kato	savam
G	pativedanā	vā ta		mayā	evam	katam	sava
D	pativedanā	va so	ma	mayā		kato	sava
J	pativedana	va so	ma	mayā		kato	savam

(a) This word (एवेण) is here repeated in the Dhauhi text
 (b) Omitted in original text.

S	lalam	esimanna	samo		orodhanasi	gabhangarasi	vachasi
K	lalam	adamanna	sa		¹⁹ holodhanasi (a)	gabhangarasi	vachasi
G	lalo	bhungananna	samo		orodhanamhi	gabhangaranihi	vachamhi
D	* *	* * na	samo	²⁰ anto	olodhanasi	gabhangarasi	vachasi
J	lalam	* * *	samo	anto	olodhanasi	gabhangarasi	vachasi
S		vinitasi		ujanasi	—	savatra	pativedaka
K	va	vinitasi		ujanasi	—	savata	pativedaka
G	va	vinitamhi	cha	ujanasi	cha	savata	pativedaka
D	* *	vinitasi		ujanasi	cha	savata	pativedaka
J		vinitasi	—	ujanasi	cha	savata	pativedaka
S		atha	janasi	pativedaka	mo	—	savatra
K		atha	janasi	* tivadda	mo		savatra
G	sita	athe mo	janasi	pativedaka		ti	savatra
D		janasi	atham	pativedakajantu	mo	ti	savatra
J		janasi	atham	pativedakajantu	mo	ti	savatra
S	cha	janasi	atha	karomi	ya pirokai a		mul hata
K		janasi	atham	karomamhi	hi piyama pi cha		mul hata
G	cha	janasi	athe	karomamhi	ya cha	lanchi	mul hata
D	cha	janasi	atham	karomamhi	²¹ hi ampi el a	lanchi	mul hata
J	cha	janasi	*		am pi cha	lanchi	mul hata
S	anapayami		pila	va		—	eva
K	anapayami	sakam	dipikam	va	savaram	va	ye d
G	anapayami	swajam	dipikam	va	savaram	va	ya d
D	anapayami		dipikam	va	savaram	va	eva
J	anapayami		dipikam	va	savaram	va	eva
S	dhyaya pi nama tadharu		achayika	nja * nara	bho'i	traya	athaye
K	puna	mihatachi	achayika			traya	athaye
G	puna	mihatachi	achayika	nropitam	bhavati	traya	athaye
D	-	mahamatachi	atijayiko	alopite	hoti	traya	athaye
J		mahamatachi	atijayiko	alopite	hoti	traya	athaye
S	vivo pr na		* * ma	parivasha	anantayama	pativedaka	
K	vivo pr na	liti	vasantam	parivasha	anantayama	* * *	
G	vivo pr na	liti	vasanto	parivasha	anantayama	pativedakam	
D	vivadeva pr na	liti	vasantam	parivasha	²² anantayama	pativedaka	
J	vivadeva	4	—	parivasha	anantayama	pativedaka	
S		me		savatra	cha (b)	a * *	janasi
K	vivo	me		savata	savam	kalam	hevam
G	—	me	-	savata	sava	lile	evam
D	vivo	me	ti	savata	savam	kalam	hevam
J	vivo	me	ti	savata	savam	kalam	hevam
S	karomi atayutisi (c)			doka	anapiche		aha
K	anapante mamayi		nathi	hi me dose	utthamamhi		atha
G	mayi	anapitam	nathi	he me to so	utthamamhi		atha
D	ma	anusathe	nathi	pi me to so	utthamamhi		atha
J	me	anusatha	nathi	pi me to so	utthamamhi		atha

N B—The four following lines are found only in the Shāhbāzgarhi text

() As the vowel o in the first syllable of this word is attached to the aspirate, the value of the initial letter in the other text is determined to be o also, although this was already sufficiently clear from the initial o of the Shāhbāzgarhi text

(b) Norris reads atayutisi a

(c) Omitted in original text

S	dapika	va	siavaka	va	yata	pana	mahamata	na	
S	achayiti	me	sava	bhoti	taya	athaya	vividesa	vatijati	
S	ra	patishaye	anantasiya	na	pativi	detaro	me	savatra	
S	savam	kalam	evam	anyapitam	maya * *	sti lu me	tatanya	atha	
S	santiranaya	pi	katava	manatiah	me	sava	loka	hitam	
K	santilanâye	cha	kataviya	matehi	me	sava	loka	hita	
G	santiranâya	va	katavya	matehi	me	sava	loke	hitam	
D	santilanaya	cha	kataviya	matehi	me	sava	loka	hite	
J	santilanayam	cha	⁵		me	sava	loka	hite	
S	tasa	cha		mulam	etra	atnam	atha	santirasa	
K			puna	esi	mule	uthane	²⁰ atha	santilanâ	
G	tase	cha	puna	esa	mûle	ustina cha	atha	santirana	
D	tasa	cha	puna	iyam	mûle	uthane		santilanâ	
J	tasa	cha	pana	iyam	mule	uthane cha	atha	santilanâ	
S	cha	na	i	kammata	sava	loka	hitî ti + yam	cha	lichhi
K	châ	nathi	hi	kammatalâm	sava	loka	hitiyam jam	cha	lichhi
G	cha	nâsti	hi	kammata	sava	loka	hitattaya	cha	linchi
D	cha	nathi	hi	kammatalam	sava	loka	hitene am	cha	lichhi
J	cha	nathi	hi	kammatali	sava	loka	hitene am	cha	lichhi
S	parakamama		kiti	tanam	enâni desa	va cha yam	iha	chashu	
K	palakamami	hakam	kiti	bhutân	annaniyam	ye ha — hida	cha	kani	
G	parakamami	aham	kinti	bhutanam	annanam	gachheyam idha	cha	nâni (a)	
D	palakamami	hakam	kinti	bhutân	annaniyam	ye hanti hida	cha	kani	
J	pâlakamami	hakam			niyam	ye hanti ³³ hida	cha	kani	
S	sukhayami	paratam	cha	saga	aradhātu		etaye athaye	ayi	
K	sukhâyami	palatam	cha	swagam	âladhayantu	sa	etayethaye	iyam	
G	sukhâpyâmi	piratâ	cha	swagam	aradhayantu	ta	etâya athâya	ayam	
D	sukhayami	palatam	cha	swagam	âladhayantu	ti	etâye athaye	iyam	
J	sukhayami	palata	cha	swagam	aladhayantu	ti	etaye athaye	iyam	
S	dharmalipi	tha		chulanthutika	bhotu	tatha	cha		
K	dharmalipi	likhitâ		chulanthutika	hotu	tathâ	cha		
G	dharmalipi	lekhapitâ	kinti	chirantisteya	iti	tathâ	cha		
D	dharmalipi	likhita		chulanthutika	hotu	tathâ	cha		
J	dharmalipi	likhita		chulanthutikâ	hotu	⁷			
S	me	putranantaro	-			parakrama	tasa sa		
K	me	puta dale				palakamâtu	sivaloka		
G	me	puta pota cha	papota				savaloka		
D		puti —	papota	me		palakamatu	sivaloka		
J		pota —		me		palakamantu	savaloka		
S	hi athaya	ma bhata ta yasa	am ya	anyata	age	parakameua			
K	hita	² dukale cha	iyam	annata	agenâ	parakamenâni			
G	hitaya	dukarantu	idam	annata	agena	parakamena			
D	hit iye	dukale chu	iyam	annata	agena	parakamena			
J	hitaye	dukale chu	iyam	annata	agena	palakamena			

(α) From the great similarity of the two letters *n* and *l*, they are frequently mistaken. The true reading in this text is most probably *kani*.

EDICT VII

S	¹ Devānampriyo	Priyasī (a)	Rāja	savvātra	ichhati	savvam	pāshān
K	Devanampiyē	Piyadasi	Lāja	* vātā	ichhati	sava	pāsandā
G	¹ Devānampriyo	Piyadasi	Rājā	savata	ichhati	save	pāsandā
D	Devānampiyē	Piyadasi	Lājā	savata	ichhati	sava	pāsandā (b)
J	²	Piyadasi	Lājā	savata	ichhati	sava	pāsandā

S	vaseyu	save ite	sayaman	bhavasudhi	cha	ichhanti ³	jano
K	vase va	save hite	sayaman	bhavasudhi	cha	ichhanti	mune
G	vaseyu	save te	sayaman cha	² bhavasudhin	cha	ichhanti	jano tu
D	vasevū ³	ti save	hota sayaman	bhāvasudhi	cha	ichhanti	munisā
J	vase ⁴	* save	hite saya am	bhavasudhi	cha	ichhanti	munisā

S	cha	uchavacha	chhando	uchavacha	rago	te
K	va	uchavachā	chhandā	uchāvacha	lāga	te
G		uchavacha	chhando	uchavacha	rago	te
D	cha	² uchavacha	chhandā	uchāvacha	lagā	te
J	cha	uchāvachā	chhandā	uchāvacha	lagā	te ³

S	savvam	vā	(a)	ekadesam va ⁴ pi	kāshanti	vipule
K	savvam	-	(b)	ekadesam pi	kachhanti	vipule
G	savvam	va	kāsanti	ekadesam va	kāsanti	³ vipule
D	savvam	va	(c)	ekadesa *	kachhati	vipulā
J	-			ekadesam va	kachhanti	vipule

S	pi cha	dāne	yasa	nāsti	sayaman	⁵ bhāvasudhi
K	pi cha	dāne	tasā	nathi	²² sayame	bhāvasudhi —
G	tu pi	dāne	yasa	nasti	sayame	bhavasuddhitā va
D	pi cha	dāne	asa	nathi	sayame	bhavasudhi cha
J	pi cha	dāne			—	—

S	kāṭṭanātu		dīdhābhatita (d)		niche	padham
K	kāṭanātu	-	dīdhābhatitā	chā	nicha	padham
G	kāṭṭanāyātā	va	dadhābhatitā	va	nichā	badham
D	—				niche	bidham
J			fla		niche	badham

EDICT VIII

S	¹⁷ Atikātam	antaram	ne Rāja	vihariyatam nāme	nīkhamisham	gamagaye
K	Atil antam	antalām	Devānampiyā	* * * dhīya / * *	nīkhamisuhidā	mīgaviyā
G	Atikātam	antaram	Rajano	viharayitam nyayasu	eta	mīgavyā
D	³ * kantam	antalam	Lājāno	vahalejatam nama	* khamisā	* * viya
J	¹⁰ t* kantam	antalam	Laja			

S	anyame	cha	edisani	atrasamana	abhavasu	so	Devanampriyo
K	anyani	cha	hedisani (e)	abhila māni	hunsam		Devanampiyē
G	anyani	cha	etarisani	² abhira malāni	ahumsu	so	Devanampriyo
D	anni	cha	edisani	abhila mani	puvam tīnam	se	Devānampiyē
J	annani	cha	e	a * ila māni	puvam tīnam	se	Devanampiyē

(a) Priyasī in original, the d having been omitted by the engraver

(b) Hananda is read by Wilson, and it is so lithographed, but as pusa might easily be mistaken for hana, the word has certainly been misread

(c) Omitted in original texts

(d) This reading of the Shahbazgarhi text confirms Westergaard's emendation of *drirha bhaktita* in the Girnar text

(e) This is another instance of the cockney aspirate in the Kālsī text

S	Priyadası	Ranya	dasavashabbisito	santu	nikamisaye	* dhitenā
K	Piyadası	Lıja	dasavashabbisito	santu	nikhamı thām sım	²³ bodhunitenā
G	Piyadası	Rıja	dasavashabbisito	santo	ayayasam	bodhunitenā
D	⁴ Piyadası	Lıja	dasavashabbisito		nikhamısım	bodhi * — tenā
J	¹¹ Piyadası	Laja	dasa			

S	sa	dhammayatıa	etıyayım	hotı	Sımanam Brımananam	dasane	nı	dava
K	tū	dhammayatū	etıyam	hotı	Sımana Bambhanānam	dasane	chā	dane
G	sā	dhammayatū	etayım	hotı	Bāhmana Sımanānam	dasane	cha	dāne
D	tū	dhammayatū	tesa	hotı	Samana Bıbhanānam	dasane	cha	dāne
J	-	-	tesa	hotı	Sa * * *	* *	cha	dāne

S	anu	* *	* *	- *	huanya	pativıdhane	cha
K	cha	vıdhānam	dasane	cha	hılnanna	pativıdhane	cha
G	cha	thıranam	dasane	cha	huanna	pativıdhane	cha
D	cha	vıdhınam	dasane	cha	⁵ hılnanna	pativıdhane	cha
J	cha	vıdhānam	dasane	cha	¹⁰ hılnanna	pativıdhāne	cha

S	piyanası		janasa	dasana		dhammanusathı	
K	jınapıdası		jınası	dasanam		dhammanusathı	cha
G	jınapıdası	cha	jınası	dasanam		dhammanusathı	cha
D	jınapıdası		jınası	dasane	cha	dhammanusathı	* *
J							

S	dharma parı	puvachı		tadopayam	ete	bhayeratı	bhotı
K	dhammı parı	puchhā	cha	tıtipayo	esı	bhıyılātı	hotı
G	dhammı parı	puchhā	cha	tadopıya	esı	bhıyıratı	bhavatı
D	* * *	* chhā		tıdapaya	* sı	abhlıame	hotı
J						* lame	hotı

S	Devānampriyası	Priyadası	Rıyo	bhago	anye	
K	Devānampriyası	Priyadası	Lıjıne	bhāge	anne	
G	Devānampriyası	Priyadasıno	Rıyo	bhāge	anne	
D	Devānampriyası	Priyadasıne	Lıjıne	bhāge	anne	
J	Devānampriyası	¹³ Priyadasıne	Lajıne	bahge	a * *	

EDICT IX

S	¹³ Devānampriyo	Priyadası	Rıya	evam	ahatı	
K	²⁴ Devānampriyo	Piyadası	Lıjıne		ıha	
G	¹ Devānampriyo	Pıyıdası	Rıjı	eva	aha	ıstı
D	⁶ Devānampriyo	Piyadası	Lıja	hevam	āhā	athı
J	¹⁴ Devānampriyo	Piyadası	Lajı	-		

S	jano	ucham vacham	mangalam	karotı	ıbadhası	vı abıvaha
K	jano	uchāvacham	mangalam	ka * *	ābadhesı	— avāha
G	jano	uchāvacham	mangalam	karote	ābadhesu	va ² avāha
D	jano	uchavacham	mangalam	kalotı	abadhesu	—
J	—					

S		—	prıa pıtu dı		pavıası	-
K	vıvıhesı	—	pajupıdıye		pavasası	
G	vıvıhesu	vı	putalabhesu	vā	pavısammhı	vā
D	vı * * *		* jupadıye		pavıasası	
J	—		pajupadıye		pavāsası	

S	ataya		anyaye	va	hadesi	* * na datu	mangalam
K	etaye		annaye	cha	edisâye	jane - bahu	mangalam
G	etamhi	cha	anyamhi		cha	jano uchavicham	mangalam
D	⁷ etaye		annaye	cha	hedisâye	jino bñhukam	mangalam
J	etaye	cha ¹⁵			hedisâye	jane bñhukam	
S	karoti	atı	tu	striyaka	bahu	cha	bahuvīdham
K	kāloti	heta	vu	ābakejanibhu	bahu	cha	bahuvīdham
G	karote	etı	tu	māhādāyo	bñhukam	cha	bñvuvīdham
D	kı			—	—		itñubīdham
J							
S	cha	putika	cha	nirastiyam	cha	mangala	karoti se
K	cha	khudavi		nilathiyam	va	mangalam	kaloti ²⁵ se
G	cha	chhadam	va	nūatham	cha	mangalam	karote ta
D	cha	puti *	cha	nilathiyam	cha	mangalam	kaloti ⁸ se
J	—					mangalam	kaloti se
S	kataviya			mangala	apaphalam	tukho	etadı
K	katavi cheva	kho		mangale	ipaphale	(chu) kho (a)	* sâ iyam
G	katavyameva	tu		mangalam	apaphalam	tukho	etarisam
D	kataviye	le (dhe) no	⁷ mangale	ipapale	chakho		esahedisam
J	kataviye	chevakho	mangale	¹⁶ apaphale	chakho		esaha * *
S	matakho			mabaphalam	yema		
K	chukho			mabāphale			
G	mangalam	ayam	tu	mabaphale			
D	mangalam	¹ ayam		mabāphale			
J			—	—	—		
S	mangala	¹⁹ ti	asa ima			dasa	bhatākasa
K		ye	dhammamangale	* * *		dāsa	bhatākasi
G	mangale	ya	dhammamangale	tatota		dasi	bhatākamhi
D		e	dhammamangale	tatesa		dasa	bhatākasi
J			—				bhatākasi
S	samāpatipati	va gīranam	apa * ti	pasādhū		sayama	
K	samapātīpatī	gulunam	apachiti	pān ' *		siyammo	
G	samyapātīpatī	gūjunam	apachiti	sādhū panesu		sayame	sādhū
D	sammāpatīpatī	⁹ gulunam	apachi *				
J	samyapātīpatī	gulunam	apachiti	pānesu		sayame	
S	Sramana	Bramana		dane	eta		anya
K	Samana	Bambhanānam		dane	eśe		anne
G	Bahmana	Samanānam	sādhū	dānam	eta	cha	anne
D	Samāna	Babhanānam	—	dane	esa		anne
J	¹⁷ Sramana	Bambhanā	* *			—	
S	cha		dharma	*	*	*	savo
K	chā	hedisatam	dhamma	mangale	nāmā	pe	vataviye
G	cha	etarisam	dhamma	mangalam	nāma	ta	vatavyam
D	cha		dhamma	gala (b)	nāma	ta	vataviye
J							

(a) Perhaps intended for *Chulha*, or even *tulha*(b) The *m* of *mangala* is omitted on the rock by a mistake of the engraver or writer

S	putana	sava	putena	sa	bhata	*	* * * lēna	pī
K	putinā	pī	putena	pī	bhātina	pī	suṇāmikēna	pī
G	puta	va	putena	va	bhatā	va	swamikēna	va
D	putina	pī	putena	pī	bhatina	pī	¹⁰ suṇāmiko	
J	* tina	pī	putena	pī	bhātina	pī	suṇāmikēna	pī
S	māta	sastatena	ava	prativatīyena	imasa	alatha	saka (a)	
K	mita	santhātena	ava	prativasiyenapī	iyam	sādhu	iyam	
G	(	omitted			) idam	sadhu	idam	
D	(	do) * *	* *	* *	
J	(	do			) iyam	sādhu	iyam	
S	nasti	mangalam	ya	tasa	atasa cha	taviye	dita	tadika
K	kataviya	mangalo	ava	tasā	athasa	nidhatiya		
G	katavya	mangalam	āva	trāsā	athasā	nistanaya		
D	* * *	* * lam	ava	tasa	athasa	nidhatiya		
J	kataviyo	18 * *	* *	ya	athasa	* * *		

At this point of Edict IX the text of the two northern versions differs from that of Gurnar, Dhauli, and Jaugada. The remainder of the Edict is therefore given in two separate parts.

Continuation of the SHAHBAZGARHI and KHALSI versions

S	imra	kusyo	eva	taka	mangalam	sansaye	litam	
K	iyam	kusi *	va	cha la	mangalo	sansayi	lyase	
S	siyato	tatha	nivakiyati	sayapanena		iha		
K	siyavatam	atham	nivateya	sāyāpanena		hida		
S	lobha cha		ava	dharma	anuna	* * *	*	*
K	lochavase		iyamjanā	dhammamangale		akālikyo	ham	che
S	* *	ya	dhamma	anutam	atham	na	divati	ita
K	pitam	atham	nonitoti	hida	atham	palata	anantam	
S	* *	* *	ha	apratirnam	va panyaprasata			
K	punā	prāsati	panchesu	kātam				
S	tham	tathati	varo	abhi	asaladham	bhoti	orochase	
K	atham	nivatati	hida	tatā	ubhijetam	* adhehoti	hida chā	
S	asti pabbati	dhati	panyapasa	ka	pha	dina	ta	
K	se athe helatā	chā	anantam	pana		pasavati		
S	mangale	* *						
K	tena dharmapaga							

Continuation of the GĪRNAR, DHAULI, and JAUGADA versions

G	asti cha	pīrutam	sadhu	dana	iti na	tu	etarisam	
D	athi	parutam	vate	dāne	sathiti		hedisam	
J	* *	* *	* *	ya	* *		* *	
G	nasti dāna	va	anagāho	va	yārisam	dhammadānam	va	
D	(athi dāne)		anugahe	va	¹¹ adi va	dhammadāne		
J	* se dāne		anugahe	adi	ve	dhammadāne		

(a) Or perhaps *anetha* or *anyetha*

G	dharmmanugaho	vâ	ta	tukho	mitena	va	suhadayena
D	dharmmanuga (he)		—				
J	dharmmanugaho	cha	se	chukho	mitena		
G	va	^s nyatikena	va	sahayena	va		ovâditavyam
D		tikena		sapayena	tivi		yovadita
J		—					
G	tamhi	tamhi	pakarane	idam	kacha		idam
D	tasi		pakalanasi	i *			
J							yam
G	sâdhu	iti	immi	sak	*	swagam	âradhetu iti
D			¹² imena	ka			aladhayitave
J	sadhu		imena	sakye	#	swage	aladhayitave
G	lâcha	* * *	iminâ	katavyataram	yata		swagâradhi
D					tasa		alabhi
J	lanhi		imena	kataviyatata			

EDICT X

S	²¹ Devanampriyo	Priyadarsi	Raya	yaso	va	luti	va
K	Devânampiye	Piyadasî	Lâja	yaso	vâ	liti	vî
G	Devânampiyo	Piyadasî	Râja	yaso	va	liti	va
D	¹³ piye	Piyadasî	Lâja	yaso	vâ	liti	vâ
J				²¹ yaso	va	liti	vâ
S	na	mahattha	va	ha	manayati	anyata	yo
K		mabatha	vâ		manati	anatâ	yam
G	na	mahâthâ	va	hâ	manyate	anyata	
D	na		va	na	mannati	vakativâ	
J	(			<i>omitted</i>			—)
S	pî	yaso	sriti	va	mati	tena tasa	ayatiya cha
K	pî	yasa	va liti	va	ichhati	tadâtwaye	iyatiye cha
G						tadâdwano	dighaya cha
D					ichhati	ta datwaye	annati
J					ichhati	tâ datwâye	anyatiye cha
S	tada	dharmasususha		sususha	a		meti
K	jane	dharmasususâ		sususâ	ta		mati
G	me janâ	dharmasusunsâ		sususa	tam		
D	jane	¹⁴ dharmasususâ		sususa	tam		me
J	jane	dharmasusûsam		sususa	tam		me
S	dharmavatam	cha		annvidhayatam			
K	dharmavatam	va		* nuvidhiyati			
G	dharmavatam	cha		anuvīdhiyatam			
D	dhamma	* *	* *	* *	* *		
J	* *	* *	* *	* *	* *		
S	eta	haye	Devanampriya	Priyadarsi	Raya	yaso	
K	eta	haye	Devânampiye	Piyadasî	²⁸ Lâjâ	yaso	
G	eta	kaya	Devanampiyô	Piyadasî	Râja	yaso	
D	eta	haye				yaso	
J							

S	liti		va	ichhati	ya tu	kichi
K	vâ	liti	vâ	ichha	am châ	kichi
G	va	liti	va	ichhati	ya tu	kichi
D	va	liti	va	1		chi
J						

S	parakramato	Devânampriyo	Priyadarsi	Raya	ta	savam
K	lakramati (a)	Devânampriyo	Priyadasi	Lâja	ta	savam
G	parakramito	Devanram (b)	Priyadasî	Râja	ta	savam
D	palakramati	Devanampriyo	* *	* *	* *	* *
J		Devanampriyo				

S	paratikayo	va sati	sukali	aparisavo	siyati esho	tu parasaveyam apunyam
K	pilatit vâye	va kintî	sukale	apaplisava	siyatiti ese	chu palisakha e apunne
G	paratikâya	va kintî	sakalo	apaprisavo	asa esa	tu praisavoja apunyam
D	pilatikayo	va ¹⁵ kintî	sakale	apaplisave	puveyati	palisa * * *
J	pilatikayo	va kintî	sakale	apaplisave	puveyati	3

S	dularita llo	esho	va dakena	va	gena	usadhinya
K	dukale chukho	ese	l hudakena	vâ	ratenâ	usutenâ vâ
G	* dukarintî llo	etam	chihudakena	va	janena	usitena cha
D	* * laje		va			
J	-					

S	tava * gena	parakamenâ	savam	pari	cha	ji	eta
K	anata agenâ	palakamenâ	savam	paliti		disâ	peta
G	anjata agenâ	parakamenâ	savam	pari	cha	jipta	eta
D	(annî) tî agenâ	* * * na	savam		cha	paliti	tî (P)
J						jita	* *

S	(	omitted	)	cha	usa *	* *	* *
K	chul ho	dul era	lataste *		3 usatena	vâ	dukale
G	lakho				usatena		dukaram (c)
D	¹² l hu	dakena	va usatena	va	usitena	cha	dukalata *
J	l hu	dul ena	va usatena	va	usatena	chu	dukalatale

N B—In the Dhauki and Juvardi texts of Asoka's Series of Rock Inscriptions, the 11th, 12th, and 13th Edicts are omitted, but both texts close with a copy of the 11th edict

EDICT XI

S	²² Devânampriyo	Priyadarsi	Raya	evam ahati, nasti	edisam	dânam	yavisam
K	Devanampriyo	Priyadasî	Lâja	hevam (d) hâ nathi	hedisam	dânam	yadisam
G	Devânampriyo	Priyadasî	Râja	evam aha nasti	etârisam	dânam	yavisam

S	dhammadanam	dhammasastavo		dhammasamvibhago		dhammasambandho	va
K	dhammadane	(omitted)		dhammasamvibhago		dhammasambandha	
G	dhammadanam	dhammasastavo vâ		dhammasamvibhago	vâ	dhammasambandho	va

(a) The letter *p* is omitted in the original text

(b) *paye* is omitted in the original

(c) Burnouf (*Le Lotus*, p. 600) has given his reading of the text of this Edict, with a translation, which differ from those of Prinsep and Wilson

(d) The initial letter *h* of *hâ* is omitted in the original text

S	* ta	idam		datam bhatakanam	samapatipatī	matapitushu	
K	tata	ese	-	dasa bhātakaṣi	samyapatipatī	mātapitisu	
G	² tata	idam	bhavatī	dasa bhatakamhi	samapatipatī	matarī pitarī	sādhu

S	susushu	mitasastuta	nyatakanam	Sramana	Brūma	sa * *	⁴ danam
K	sususā	mitasathuti	natikyanam	Sramna	Bambhanā	nā	dāne
G	sususā	mitasastuta	nyatikanam	Bahmana	Samana	sadhu	danam

S	prananam	anarambho		etam	vatavo	pitrena	pī	putrena
K	³⁰ pānānam	analambho	ese		vataviye	pitina	pī	pute
G	³ pānanam	anarambho	sadhu	etam	vatavyam	pitā	va	putena

S	pī	va	bhatena	pī	va	mitrena	pī	mitra
K	pī		bhatinā	pī	sava	mikyena	pī	mita
G		va	bhāta		va			mita

S	sastutana			ava	pativesiyenā		sadhu	ide
K	santhutana			ava	pativesiyenā	iyam	sadhu	iyam
G	sastutana	nyātikena	va	ava	pativesiyehi	idam	sādhu	idam

S	katavo	so	tātha	kāratam	iha	loka cha	aradhetī	
K	kataviye	so	tathā	kalanta	hida	lokikyē dhikam	aladhe	hotī
G	katavyam	⁴ so	tathā	karu	i(ha)	lokachasa	ārādho	hotī

S	parata	cha	anantam	punyam krasava (a)	⁵ bho	tena	dharmadanena
K	palata	cha	anantam	puna pasavate		tena	dharmadanenā
G	parata	cha	anantam	punyam	bhavatī	tena	dhammadanena

EDICT XII

S								
K	Devānampiye	Piyadasi	³¹ Lājā	savā	pāsandāni			pavajitani
G	Devanampiyē	Piyadasi	Raja	sava	pāsandāni	cha		pavajitani

S								
K		gahathāni	vā	pujati	dānena		vividheya	cha
G	cha	gharistāni	cha	pujayatī	dānena	cha	vividhāya	cha

S								
K	pujayene			cha	tathā	dāne	va	pujā
G	pujayene	pūjayatī	² nena	tu	tathā	dānam	va	puje

S								
K	va	Devanampiyē	manatī	athā	luti	sālā	vadhisiyātī	sava
G	va	Devanampiyō	manyate	yathā	luti	sāra	vadhī asa	sava

S								
K	pāsandānam	sālā	vadhinā	bahuvīdhā	tasa		cha	iyam
G	pāsandanam	sara	vadhītu	bahuvīdhā	tasa	tasa	tu	idam

(a) In Arian Pāli the two letters *l* and *p* may easily be mistaken, but as the dental sibilant of Shalibazgarhi differs from the palatal sibilant of Khalsi, it is possible that the words may be different

S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
K	mulo	ava	chatutı	kintı	³² ta ata pāsandā	va puḷā	va palapasandā	
G	mūlam ya	va	vigutı	kintı	ātta pasanda	pūḷu	parāpāsanda	
S								
K	garahā nam		tana apa saka kate	vam nosayā				
G	garahā			va no bhavo				
S								
K	³³ apakalanası	lahahā	vā	siya	tamsı	tamsı	pakalanası	
G	apakaranamhi	lahahā	va	asa	tamhi	tamhi	pakaranye	
S								
K	puḷeta	vija	chu		palapāsandā	tena	tena	akalana
G	pūḷeta	yā	tu	eva	parāpāsandā	tena	tena	pakaranyena
S								
K	hevam	kalata	atapasandā	budha	vadhijeti	palapāsandā	pi vā	
G	evam	katam	āttapāsanda	cha	vadhajati	parapāsandāsa	chā	
S								
K	upālotı	tadā anatha	kalotı	atpāsanda	cha	chhanotı	palapāsanda	
G	upākaroṭı	tadantetha	karotı	āttapāsandam	cha	chhanotı	parapāsandasa	
S								
K	pi	va	apakalotı	jo	hi	kacha	atapasanda	puḷāti
G	va	pi	apakarotı	jo	hi	kachi	āttapasanda	puḷayati
S								
K	³³ palapāsanda (a)	vā	gārahati	sāve	atapasanda	bhatiya	va kintı	
G	parapāsandam	va	garahati	sava	āttapāsandā	bhatiya	kintı	
S								
K	atpāsanda	dipya	ma	so	cha	punā	tathā	kalota
G	āttapāsandam	dipya	ma itı	so	cha	puna	tatha	karotı
S								
K		budhatale	upāhanti	atapāsanda	pi sama	vijeva	sādhū	kintı
G	āttapāsandam	budhatarām	upāhantı	tāsa ma		vayo eva	sādhā	kintı
S								
K	manamamānusa	dhammam	suneja	chā	sususaḷu	va tı	hevam	pi
G	manjamaṇjaṇa	dhammam	sunaja	cha	susunseia	cha	evam	hi
S								
K	Devanampiyasa	icchā	kintı	³⁴ savapāsanda	bahu	putā (ḷ)	chā	
G	Devanampiyasa	icchā	kintı	savapāsandā	bahu	utā (ḷ)	cha	asu
S								
K	kalanyugā	chā hu	ve jati eva	tatā	tatā	pasannāto	hi	vataḷiyo
G	kalanyugama	cha	asu jo cha	tata	tata	pasannāto	hi	vataḷya

(a) Here *pāsanda* is spelt with the dental *s* instead of the palatal *ś*, as in other places of this latter part of the Khalsı text

(b) Here it is difficult to say whether the engraver has changed the letters *p* and *s*, which are very much alike, as the two words *puta* and *suta* have the same meaning.

S	* ta	idam		datam bhatakanam	samapapipati	matapitushu		
K	tata	ese		dasa bhatakası	samyapapipati	mâtapitusu		
G	² tata	idam	bhavati	dasa bhatakamhi	samapatipati	mâtari pitari	sâdhu	
S	susushu	mitasastuta	nyatakanam	Sramana	Bramana	sa * *	² danam	
K	sususâ	mitasasthuti	natikyanam	Samana	Bambhanâ	nâ	dane	
G	sususâ	mitasastuta	nyatikânam	Bahmana	Samana	sâdhu	dânam	
S	prananam	anarambho		etam	vatavo	pitrena	pi	putrena
K	³⁰ pânanam	anârambho	eso		vataviyo	pitina	pi	pute
G	³ pânanam	anârambho	sudhu	etam	vatavyam	pitâ	va	putena
S	pi	va	bhatena	pi	va	mitrena	pi	mitra
K	pi		bhatinâ	pi	sava	mikyan	pi	mita
G		va	bhâtâ		va			mita
S	sastutana			ava	prativisijena		sâdhu	ide
K	santhutana			ava	prativisijena	iyam	sâdhu	iyam
G	sastutana	nyatikena	va	âva	prativisijehi	idam	sâdhu	idam
S	katavo	so	tîtha	karatam	iha	lokacha	aradheti	
K	kataviyo	so	tathu	karanta	hida	lokikyehikam	aladhe	hoti
G	katavyam	⁴ so	tathâ	karu	i(ha)	lokachasa	arâdho	hoti
S	parata	cha	anantam	punjam krasava (a)	³ bho	tena	dhammadanena	
K	palata	cha	anantam	punâ pasavato		tena	dhammadanena	
G	parata	cha	anantam	punjam	bhavati	tena	dhammadanena	

EDICT XII

S								
K	Devânampiyē	Piyadasi	³¹ Laja	savâ	pasandâni			pravajitini
G	Devanampiyē	Piyadasi	Raja	sava	pasandani	cha		pravajitani
S								
K		gahathâni	vâ	pujati	danena		vividheya	cha
G	cha	gharistâni	cha	pujayati	danena	cha	vividhâya	chā
S								
K	pujayene			cha	tathâ	dane	va	puja
G	pujayene	pûjayati	² nena	tu	tathâ	danam	va	pujo
S								
K	va	Devanampiyē	manati	athâ	lanti	sala	vadhisiyati	sava
G	va	Devanampiyō	manyate	yathâ	luti	sâra	vadhî asa	sava
S								
K	pāsandanam	sâlâ	vadhinâ	bahuvidhâ	tasa		cha	iyam
G	pāsandanam	sâra	vadhîtu	bahuvidhâ	tasa	tasa	tu	idam

(a). In Aran Pâli the two letters *l* and *p* may easily be mistaken, but as the dental sibilant of Shâhbazgarhi differs from the palatal sibilant of Khalsi, it is possible that the words may be different

S								
K	mulo	ava	chatutı	lintı	* ta ata pāsandā	va puju	va palapasandā	
G	mūlam ya	va	vıgutı	lintı	ātta pasanda	pūju	parāpasanda	
S								
K	garaha nam		tana apa garha kate vam nosaj ā					
G	garahā		va no bhavo					
S								
K	³ apakalanasi	lahal ā	vā	siyā	tamsı	tamsı	prakalanasi	
G	apakaranamhi	lahalā	va	asa	tamhi	tamhi	pakaranye	
S								
K	pujeta	vıya	chu		palapāsandā	tena	tena	akālana
G	pūjeta	ya	tu	eva	parapāsanda	tena	tena	pakaranyena
S								
K	hevam	kalata	atapāsanda	badha	vadhıyetı	palapāsandā	pı vā	
G	evam	katam	āttapāsanda	cha	vadhıyati	parapāsandasa	cha	
S								
K	upakaloti	tada anatha	kaloti	atapāsanda	cha	chhanoti	palapāsanda	
G	upakaroti	tadantetha	karoti	āttapāsandam	cha	chhanoti	parāpasandasa	
S								
K	pı	va	apakaloti	ye	hi	kacha	atapāsanda	pujati
G	va	pı	apakaroti	yo	hi	kachi	āttapāsanda	pujayati
S								
K	²³ palapāsanda (a)	va	galahati	sava	atapāsanda	bhatıyā	vā lintı	
G	parāpāsandam	va	garahati	sava	āttapāsanda	bhatıya	lintı	
S								
K	atapāsanda	dıpye	ma	so	cha	punā	tathā	kalota
G	āttapāsandam	dıpye	ma itı	so	cha	puna	tatha	karoti
S								
K	-	bıdhıtare	upahıntı	atapāsanda	pı sama	vıyeva	sıdhı	lintı
G	āttapāsandam	bıdhıtarām	upahınatı	tasa ma		vıyo eva	sıdhā	lintı
S								
K	manamanyasa	dhammam	suneyu	chā	susuśāyu	vā tı	hevam	pı
G	manamanyasa	dhammam	sunıya	cha	susunseıa	cha	evam	hi
S								
K	Devanampiyasa	ıchhā	lintı	²⁴ savapāsanda	bahu	putā (b)	chā	
G	Devanampiyasa	ıchhā	lintı	savapāsandā	bahu	suta (b)	cha	asu
S								
K	kalānuga	cha hā	ve jatı eva	tatā	tatā	pasannāto	hi	vataviye
G	kalānyugama	cha	asu ye cha	tata	tata	pasannāto	hi	vatavyā

(a) Here *pāsanda* is spelt with the dental *s* instead of the palatal *ś*, as in other places of this latter part of the Khalsi text

(b) Here it is difficult to say whether the engraver has changed the letters *p* and *s*, which are very much alike, as the two words *puta* and *suta* have the same meaning

S									
K	Devānampriye	no	tathā	dānam	vā	pujā	vā	mānate	athā
G	Devānampriyo	no	tathā	dānam	va	pūjā	va	manyate	yathā
S									
K	kintī	sālā	vadhū	siyā	sava	pāsanda tī	bahukā	cha	etayā
G	kintī	sāla	vādhū	asa	sava	pāsandānam	bahukā	va	etāya
S									
K	thayo	vijāpatā	dhāmmamāhāmatā			itthūya	kha	mahāmātā	vacha
G	athā	vijāpatā	dhāmmamāhāmātā	cha		itthūya	kha	mahāmāta	cha vacha
S									
K	bhumikā	— ano	vājā	nikāyo	³⁵ jām	cha	etāsī	phaleyam	atapāsanda
G	bhūmikā	cha anyā	cha	nikāyo	ajān	chā	etasa	phalaya	āttapāsanda
S									
K	vadhū	cha	hoti dhammasa		¹ dīpana (a)			chha vepī	pītasā
G	vadhū	cha	hoti dhammasa		cha dīpanā	athā		vepībhū	pītasā

EDICT XIII

S	Devānampriyasa	Priyārasīsa	Raye	kali *	vī * tā	ī * *
K	Devānampriyasa	Priyārasīso	Lājine	kālikhyam	vijitī	dīyadha
G						
S	ma	apana	sata	asra sata	* * * alī	vudhū
K	mā	apāna	sata		sahaseyo tūphā alū	vudhena
G						
S	patesā		etāhatam	bahu	tī * *	lā * *
K	satesa	pāsamātām	tātahate	bahu	tivato	levā mite
G	patasā	pasamatām	etāhatam	bahu	tivattī	kammata
S	² tāri nata chī santa	lādheshu	Kālī (ngeshu)			dhar
K	tātī tha va sadhuna	lādhesu	Kālingesu	tī	ve	dhammapriyā
G	tātā pachhā adhūnā	lādhesu	Kālingesu	tī	ve	dhammapriyā
S	ma mata	dhāmanusathī	cha		* * * *	
K	³⁶ dhammakammātā	dhāmmānusathī	chā			
G	* * *	* * *		Devānam priyāsā je athī anusāye		
S	Devānampriyasa	vijitaviya	kayī (P)	³ avijitambhī	jina	mano
K	Devānampriyāsā	vijitavi	kālikhyani	avijitambhī	jine	mane
G						etā
S	tā	vata	tī	maianam	sta	apāda
K	tā	vadha	vā	marino	va	apavaho
G		vadhō	va	maranyam	va	apavaho

(a) Here begins the legible portion of the inscription on the back of the Shahbuzgarlı rock.

S	janasa		ye taram radhi lipa	badham	shana	deya	matu
K	janasâ	che	-	bâdhi	vedana	ya	mate (a)
G	janasata			bâdham	védana		mata
S	garamata	cha	ma	Devanam priyasa *	* ta cha		sa cha
K	galamate (b)	ba	va	Devânam piyasa iyampichu tato			galu
G	gannamata	ba	va	De	-		
S	sacha	matura	Devanam priyasa	savata ha	⁴ vasasti		Brâmana
K	mata	- tâle	Devânampiyasa	³⁷ savatâ	vasati		Bambhanâ
G							
S	Sramana		pâshanda	gatethi	vayesa	hatha	jasha
K	va Sama (c) vâ	anavâ	pâsanda	gihitbâ	vayesu	vihitâ	* thasa
G							-
S	etam	bhoti	sususha	mata	pitri	sususha	shusuri
K	agine	* *	sususâ	mâta	pita	sususâ	gulu
G			* * sa	mâta	pitari	susunsâ	guru
S	sususha	mitasantala	sahaya	⁵ nyatike	shunasa	bhotikanam	sa * *
K	susa (c)	mitasanthata	sahaya	nâtike	sususa	bhatikâ	sagâ ma
G	susunsâ	mitasanstata	sahâya	nyatike	sadasa		
S	pratipapati	tanam sharatam		bhoti	apragatho	va	vadham
K	patipati	dandhaliti tâle	santetâ	hoti	pasaghate	vâ	vadhe
G							
S	va	vadho cha anya natarika	manampasharam pi satî	hitanam		sava	
K	vâ	abhlâtânânam vikhini khamane	³⁸ yesamvâ pi vavi	hitanam		sine	
G							
S	avi pra	adi	atrasha	tara	sastata	sa	aya
K	pe avipa	hine	etânânam	mita	santhutâ	sa	pâ
G							ya
S	bhavasada	⁶ prapunati	tatam	tam	pitsha	vo	upaghato
K	vyasanam	pâpunâta	tritâ	so	pitaname	vâ	upagbatâ
G	vyasanam	papunoti	vata	so	pi tesa		upaghato
S	bhoti panti	bhagam	cha atam sante maneyanam gatamanam	cha		Devânampriyasa	
K	pati pati	bhâgam	cha esa sava manayanam gula	vate mâ		Devânampiyasâ	
G	patipati	bhago	vâsâ sava			yato	
S			nasti cha	ekatarehi	pasandehi	(
K	nâthi cha sejana padeyâ tâ		nâthi	imenikaya	anatâyenesa	³⁹ Bambhane	
G			nâsti manusânânam	ekataramhi	pâsandamhi	(
S	(			omitted)	
K	châ samane châ nâthi châ ku vâpi janapadasî yatha nâthi munisânânam eka tala sâ pi pasanisino						
G	(			omitted			

(a) These two words may be read as *muti* and *galamute*(b) The *na* of *samana* is omitted in the original(c) The second *su* of this word is omitted in the original

S	ANTI KINI	nāma,	MAKA	nāma,	ALIKASANDARE	nāma	
K	ANTEKINA	nāma,	MAKA	nāma,	ALIKASANDARE	nāma	
G	ANTAKANA	cha,	MAGA	cha			
S	miche	Choda,	Panda	aram	Tambapariya	aram	
K	micham	Choda,	Pandiyā	aram	Tambapariya	aram	
G							
S			henā	raja	vishatimi	Yōra-lant'ogechi,	
K	heva	meva	7 pida (a)	lujā	vishamvasi	Yōra-lant'ogechi,	
G							
S	Nabhaka Nabhamateshu		¹⁰ Bhōja-Pitūnikeshu,	Andhra Palāndeshu		savaram	
K	Nabhaka Nabha-pantisu		Bhōja Pitūnikyesu,	⁸ Andhra Palāndesi, (b)		savara	
G			* * * *	⁹ Andhra Palāndesu,		savara	
S	Devānampriyasa	dhamanusasti			Devānampriyasa		
K	Devanampiyasa	dhammānusasthi	anuvāntiyāta	pidūti	⁹ Devānampiyasa		
D	Devanampiyasa	dhammanusastim	anuvātareyata	pidūti	* * * *		
S	detanavam chantiti	pisutu	Devānampriyasa	dhamavutam tivena	dhammanusasti		
K	neyantito	pisutu	Devānam piṇṇiya (c)	lamavutam vadhanam	¹⁰ dhammanusasthi		
G							
S	dhammanuvādhānti	anuvādhāntam	* cha sa * ladhā	netā	l enā	bhoti	
K	dhamma anuvādhānta	anuvādhāntam	achāyo so * ladhā	¹¹ etā	l enā	bhoti	
G					¹⁰ vija	yo	
S	savaram	vijaye		vijaye ¹¹	piti rasi seludha	bhoti	
K	savata	vijaye (c)	ta	gadha sū hoti	piti	hoti	
G	savatha	puna	vijayo	ladhā sū	piti	hoti	
S	piti	dhammavijaya	nivāma akatutisam	piti	parantika	meram	
K		dhammavijayam	¹² sila haka ve sūho	sūpiti	pālantika	mero	
G		dhammavijayamhi					
S	mahāvila	menyati	Devānampiyo	etati	chā	ayō	
K	mahāvila * hi	mannanti	Devānampiyo	¹³ etāyo	chā	ayam	
G							
S	dhammalipi	lil hita	liti	putra	prapotra	me asam	
K	dhammalipi	lil hita	liti	putā	prapota	me asam	
G						¹⁴ asam	
S	vijaya	ma	vijayam	amanye	shāl huda	yo	
K	vijayam	ma	vijayantavija	manusu	sayakasi	no	
G	vijayam	ma	vijetavijam	man	vijayavake	eva	
S	chālā va	dānda	ta	ha	ronche	tutam rana	vijā
K	* chālā va	¹⁵ dānda	tā	vā	loche	tutamera chu	vijayam
G	* *						

(a) This word is not very clear —it may be pada or panda

(b) The text is here very indistinct

(c) The word vijaye is inserted in small letters above the line, having been originally omitted by the engraver

S	¹⁰ dhamavijaya			paralokiko	sava	cha
K	dhammavijayeso	pida	lokikyā	pala ¹⁶ lokiyō	savā	cha
G						

S	tātati bhotu ja numa tata sa			hidelolika		paranol il a.
K	kānlati ho * uga mala ti eḍḍi			hidelolika		pālalokikya
G				* 1 * lokil ā	cha	paranol ilu

EDIOT XIV.

S	¹² Aya	dhamalipi	Devānampriyena	Piṣina (a)	Ranyina	lil hapita	-
K	¹² Iyam	dhammalipi	Devānampriyena	Piyadasina	Laṇṇa	likhapitā	athu yaṇṇa
G	Ayam	dhammalipi	Devānampriyena	Piyadasina	Ranyā	likhapitā	asti c a
D	¹⁷ Iyam	dhammalipi	Devānampriyena	Piyadasina	Laṇṇa	likhi * *	-
J							

S		asti	teṣam nṣitena	asti yo	vistitena	hi	savatam s	savve
K	¹⁵ sukhitena	athu	majhimenā	athu	vithāṇā	no hi	savata	savve
G	sankhitena	asti	majhamena	asti	vistatena	nachā	savam (b)	ṣavata
D	sankhitena	athu	majhamena			n ipi	savve	savata
J			* * jhimenā	athu	vithāṇa	n ipi	savve	savata

S	gantite	ma olako	hi	vijite	balu	cha	lil hite	likhapaya
K	ghantite	mahāḷako	hi	¹⁹ vijite	balu	va	lil hite	lil hapaya
G	ghaṭitam	mahāḷako		piyutām	balu	cha	likhitaya	likhapayaya
D	ghantite	¹⁸ mahantehi		vijayo	balu	Lo cha	lil hite	lil hi vijaya
J	ghatite	mahantehi		vijayo				

S	mī cheva	amicha atra		punapano	pa * shanata	ṭaya taya	
K	mī cheva	mīyam athu mī hetā		punapuna	²⁰ ladhita	ṭaya taya	athaya
G	chema	asti cha etakam		punapuna	vutam	ṭaya taya	athaya
D		athu pa cha					
J							²³ * * s

S				¹⁴ ṭa *	paṭipajjaya	soṣajjaya atam kuche
K	madhuliyayo	yena	jane	tathā	paṭipajjase	ṣaya atā kichhi
G	mādhurīyaya	ḷiti	jano	tathā	paṭipajjetha	* tata el adā
D	taya	¹⁹ kinticha	jane	tathā	paṭipajjaya	epi cha hetam
J	madhuliyayo	kinticha	jano	tathā	paṭipajjaya	epi chu hetam

S	asamatam	likhitam	desam	va	sankhaya	kāranam	va
K	²¹ asamatī	likhite	disa	va	sankhaya	kalanam	va
G	asamātam	likhitam	asadesam	va	sachhāya	lāranam	* va
D	asamatī	likhitesam	* * * sam				
J							

(a) Sic in original

(b) It is clear from the agreement of the other four texts that the initial *p* of this word should be *s*. A single stroke omitted by the engraver on the left hand of the letter has left the unfinished *s* a simple *p*

S	alochanti	lipikara	sava aparadhena
K	alochayita	lipikala	palādhena vā
G	⁶ alovettā	lipikarā	paradhena va
D	* * tī	lipikala	* * * tī
J			

The Girnar text originally concluded with a single isolated line of which only the latter portion now remains It reads as follows —

* * * * * va sveto hasti savaloka sukhaharo nama

No 6.

First separate Edict at Dhauhi and Jaugada

See Prinsep, Journal Bengal Asiatic Society, VII, 441, and Burnouf, Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi, pp 671—693

D	¹ Devānampiyasa	vachanena	Tosahyam	mahāmāta	nagala	viyopālaka (a)		
J	¹ Devānampiye	hevam abhā	Samāpayam	mahāmata	nagale	viyopalakaha		
D	vataṇḍiyam	Am	kichhi	dakhāmī	hakam	tam	ichhāmī	kintī
J	vataṇḍiyi	Am	kichhi	dal hamī	hannam	tam	ichhāmī	kintī
D		e *	pativedayeham	³ duvālate	cha	ālabhe	ham,	esa cha
J	anam	ena	pativedayeham	² duvālate	cha	ālabhe	ham,	esa cha
D	me	mokhyamata	duvāle	etasi	athasi	am	tuphe	sī
J	me	mokhyamate	duvāle			am	tuphe	su
D	⁴ anusathī	tu phe	hi	bahūsu	pānasahasesu	āyata	pana me	
J	anusathī	phe (b)	hi	bahusu	panasahasesu	a *	* * *	
D	ga ve ma	sumunīśānam	save ⁵ munise	pājā mamā	atha	pajāye	ichhāmī	
J	ga ve ma	* munisānam	sava munise	³ paja	atha	pajaye	ichhāmī	
D	hakam	sa vena	hitasukhenam			hida lokika	⁶ pālalokikāya	
J	* *	vena	hita sukhenam	yujeyuti		hida logika	palalokikayam	
D	yujevū tī (he me hasa) (c) sūpi	ichhāmī	dukam	no cha	pāphunātha	āvā		
J	he meva me iya sava	munisa	su *	ta he	* * * notha	ava		
D	⁷ gamake	iyam	atha	lecha va	eka	pulise	manāti	
J	gamake	⁴ iyam	atha	kecha	eka	pulase	* *	

(a) Prinsep reads *vihālaka* omitting the second syllable *yo*, which is distinct in both texts Burnouf reads the word correctly as *viyopālaka* The letter *y* is indistinct in the Dhauhi text, but the vowel *o* is quite clear

(b) The syllable *tu* is here omitted in the original text

(c) The four syllables within brackets are taken from Prinsep The space now blank is sufficient for about eight letters, but the whole may not have been engraved, and the letters given by Prinsep were copied by Kittoe, although they have since been lost.

D	¹⁷ aladhayisathiti	tam apaminyam ehatba	Iyam	cha	lipi	
J	ala (dha) yasatha		Iyam	cha	lipi	ṣṣa
D	Tisa	Nakhatena	sotaviyam ¹⁸	antilapi	cha tise * * na	silhanam ni (a) el r u i
J	Tisam		sotaviyam	alapi	va	ni sata tila e la * i i
D	sotaviya	hevam cha kalantam	tuphe ¹⁹ cha ghatha	sampatipidayitva	e'ave	
J	*	*	*	*	* ¹⁹ tave	etave cha
D	athayo	iyam	lipi	hi huti hida	era	ṣṣa
J	athaye	iyam		vata lipi	era	mahamata ṣṣa
D	vijopalakā	sāsataṃ samiyam	yujavū nagala	janasa (b)	akasmā pūḥ bodha	va' akasmā pūḥ
J						
D	hi sāne vano siyāti	Etāye cha athāye	hakam	dhamma te (c)	prachasu	prachasu
J					¹¹ prachasu	prachasu
D	vasesu ²²	—	nikhmayisamū	e akha khase	a chanda	sa l hi n lam bhū
J	vasesu	anusayānam	nikhmayisamū	mahamitam	a chanda	phela hata * neḥ
D	hosati	etam atham	jānita * * *	thā ²³ kalati	atha mama anusathiti	Ujente (d)
J						Ujenti
D	picha	kumāle	etāyevam	athāye	nikhmayisati	hedisammeva vagam,
J		kumāle	va * tasa	to		
D	no cha	atīl amayisati	tinivasāni ho meva	Takkasīlate pi (e)	ada am * * ²⁵ to	mahamāyā
J					va chanika a	ma
D	nikhamsanti	anusayānam,	tada ahāpyati	atane	hammam	etam pi
J	anusayanam	nikhamsanti,		atana	hammam	
D	jānisanti	²⁶ tam pitithi	kalanti	atha jājine	anusathiti	
J	sa					

(a) This letter is doubtful, it may be *sa*.

(b) Burnouf reads *yavajū-lasa*, instead of *nagala janasa*, after which he allows a space for five letters.

(c) Here both Prinsep and Burnouf read *mate*, but the text does not repeat *ma* after *dhamma*.

(d) *Ujentiya* is the reading of both Prinsep and Burnouf, but the letter *ti* is quite clear both in the photograph and in Mr Beglar's impressed copy. Prinsep identifies *Ujemo* with *Ujentiya*, a younger brother of Mahinda (Buddhist Sacred Texts, Vol. VII, 156), but Burnouf has rightly pointed out that *Ujentiya* was only a title of Prince Mahinda, who was born at Ujuntia. — *Le Lotus*, p. 62.

(e) Here Burnouf reads *etasi*, supposing that the left limb of the letter *s* had been omitted by Kitter, but the letter is more distinctly *pi* and not *sa*.

Second Separate Edict at Dhauri and Jaugada

D	Devânampiyasa	vachanena	TOSALIYAM	kumâle	mahamâtâ	cha	vataviya	am		
J	Devanampiye	hevam âhâ	SANAPATAM	m3hamâta	Lâja	va	cha nika	vataviyâ, am		
D	lichhi	dakhâmî (a)	hakam	tam						
J	lichhi	dakhami	hakam	tam	ichhami	hakam	hinti * ka	mana 2 patipâtayecham		
D	2 duvâlata	cha	âlabheham,	esa	cha	me	mokhyamata	duvalâ		
J	duvalate	cha	âlabheham,	esa	cha	me	mokhiyamate	duvala		
D	Etasî	athasî	am	tuphe (b) hî	anusathî	tuphe hî	bahûsu pâna	sahasesu âyata jana me gachha cha		
J	Etasa	athasa	am	tuphe * anusathî (c)			(omitted)			
D	sumunisanam,	sive	sumunise	paja	mama	3 atha (c)	pajâye	ichhâmî	hakam niti,	
J	(omitted)	sava	manisâ	3 me	paja	atha	pajaye	ichhâmî	hinti me	
D	savena	hita	sukhena	hidalokika	pâlalokikâye	yujevûti	hevam			
J	savene	hita	sukhena	yu(je) yûti	hidalogika	pâlalokike na	hevam	mevam	me	
D	4	siyâ	antânam	avijitânam	lichham	vasu	Lâja			
J	ichhe sava	manisâ su	sayâ	anta kuthâ	vijitanam	kinchham	desu	Lâja	aphe suti eta kavâ	
D	meva	ichhâmî	ma	antesu	pâpunevute	iti	Devânampiye		vâgâna	
J	me	ichha		antesu	pâpuneyu	Lâja	ichhati	ame	vigina	
D	mamâye	5 huve	vûti,	Aswasevu	cha	snl	hameva	lahevu	mama	teno
J	heya 6 mamiyaye			Aswasepu	cha me	snk	hameva	laseya	mama	teno
D	dukha	hevam	* nava	iti	khamî	tane	Devânampiya	ahâ- kâti	echa	
J		hevam	la sâha	ne	yukhamisa	tie	Lâja		7 echha	
D	kiye	khamitave	mama	nimitam	cha	dhammam	cha		levû	
J	kiye	khamitave	mama	nimetam	cha	dhamma	cha		lenya	
D	6 hidaloka		palalokam	cha	âlâdhayevu	Etasî			-	
J	ti	hidalogam	cha	palalogam	cha	âlâdhayeyam	etâye		8 cha	
D	athasî	hakam	anusâsâmî	tuphe	anena (d)	etakena	hakam		anusâsitam	
J	athaye	hakam	tuphe vî	anusâsâmî	anena	etakena	hakam	tuphe nî	anusasitu	
D	chhandam	cha	veditam (âhayâmi) (e)	patinyo	cha	mama	7 ajalâsâ	hevam		
J	chibandam	cha	su â mama	chiti	pâtinâ	cha	7 achalasa	hevam		

(a) Burnouf reads *dakhamiham* followed by a gap as far as *duvalecha* but both the Jaugada and Dhauri texts support Prinsep's reading (See Le Lotus, p. 692)

(b) After *tuphe* Burnouf omits all down to *athapajâya*, but Prinsep's reading is supported by the Jaugada text as far as it extends. This portion has peeled off since Kittoe's time, with the exception of the last two letters *mama*

(c) In the Jaugada text the words from *atha pajaye* down to *yujevuti* are repeated, and the words following *anusathî* down to *saramanise* are altogether omitted

(d) From this word down to *ajalasa* Burnouf supplied the gap left by Prinsep, and his reading is generally confirmed by that of the Jaugada text, as well as by Mr Beglar's photographs of the Dhauri inscription itself

(e) I had already supplied *âhayâmi* from Burnouf's reading, which is now fully confirmed by Mr Beglar's photographs

D katukam me chalitaviye aswa * * i cha tani ena—pupunetu ita A¹¹ i pit i tatla Deravat piri
J katukam me chalitaviye aswasu kipi cha ta ena te pupuni — 10 — Atla pit heram ne L. 37

D aphaka atha cha at i nam (a) heram Deravatpate anusampati a¹² e
J ti atha at na anusampati heram

D heram anusampati * atha cha paja heram maye Deravatpate
J heram anusampati atta paja heram maye Iajine tuphe ni

D hrakam anusa ita chhandam cha phala— de
J hrakam anusasita chhandam cha veda taka pisi chiti patinacha iti lapa * de

D vutike hosami Etaye athaye patibalili (b) tuphe aswasan'ye hitasukhaye
J vutike hosami Etasi athasi tuphe aswasanaye hitasukhaye

D cha tase * ludalokika pulalokikaye heram cha
J tasam hitalogila pulalokikaya heram cha

D kalantam tuphe swagam alidhayaatha (c) mama cha ananyam chatha
J kalantam swaga aladhayasatam mama cha ananeyam esatha

D Et iye cha athaye iyam lipi likhita luda ena mahamata swasatun
J ¹⁴ Etāye cha athaye iyam lipi likhita luda ena mahamata saswatun (d)

D * samam ¹⁰ jayasanti Asasanyae dhamma chalanaye cha tesu antam
J samam jajesam Asasanyae ¹⁵ dhamma chalena * gitam

D iyam cha lipi anachātun (e) masam Tisenā nakhātana sotariya
J iyam cha lipi (ana) chitun masamsotariya Tisenā ant dapi

D kāmam cha khano kharasi antalipi tisenā ekena ¹¹ sotariya hevun kalantam tuphe
J cha sotariya ¹⁶ khanasantam ekena si * vya heram cha kalantam

D chaghatha sampati padayitave
J sanghatha sampati patayitave

(a) This word was omitted by the original engraver, and afterwards inserted above the line

(b) In the Jaugada text the word preceding *tuphe* would appear to have contained only three letters, of which the first is preceded by an anuswāra, thus making the final syllable *mā*. The word seems to me very like *śalāhī*. Both Prinsep and Burnouf read *Dubala*, which is certainly incorrect

(c) *tata* is here inserted by Prinsep, but there is no space for the letters

(d) Sic in original

(e) Here Burnouf divined the true reading of *anachātun* masam, which agrees also with that of the Jaugada text.

No 8

ROCK INSCRIPTION AT SAIHASARAM.

Transcript by DR G. BUEHLER

- 1 Devanam piyo hevam a [hā sātīlekam adhit]i yāni samvachhīdham am upīśak
sumi, na cha bīdham palal amte
- 2 Samvachhale sādhit e am [sumi bīdham palal am] te I tena cha amtalena Jambudīpā
amūsam deva [hu] sam ta
- 3 munis misam deva katu pīlā[kamari hu] iyam phile [n]o [cha i]yam mīśatīś
vachakīyo pīvīśave Khudīl ena hu pala—
- 4 Kamamīnena vipulo sang[e s]kīyo ala[dhaya]īye Se elaye athayē iyam samane
khudaka cha udala cha pa—
- 5 lal amamtu, amta pī chum jānamtu, chulathul e cha palal amte ho'u Iyam cha
athe vadhisatī, vipulam pī vadhisatī
- 6 diyadhīyam avaladhīyēnā diyadhīyam vadhi atī iyam cha samane vīvuthenā, dūve
sāpamālātī
- 7 sata vīvuthī tī, [sū n phra] 256 Ima cha atham pīvātēnā hīkīpāyā thāyē,
[yātī] va, a—
- 8 thī hētē silīthambha tata pī hīkīpāyā thāyī

NOTES BY DR. BUEHLER.—Materials used Pl. xiv of General Cunningham's *Corp. Insar. Ind.* Vol. I and a photograph supplied by General Cunningham

Line 1—The facsimile and photograph show that seven or eight syllables have been lost. The restoration of the first six is absolutely certain on account of the identical readings of *R* and *B*—[adhit]i ena is less certain. I take it for a representative of *adhitīyāni*, caused by the change of *s* to *h*, and its subsequent loss, just as in Panjabī *thī* thirty, and *thālī*, thirty one.

Line 2—Read *samvachhale*, *R*. Six or seven letters have been lost—*R* and *B* have two sentences corresponding to this lacuna, containing sixteen letters. *S* can have had one sentence only. The sense requires the sentence given above. Read *amīsam* according to *R*. Read *deva kusari* as *R* has *deva kus* and a verb is required. The vertical stroke in the facsimile is the left hand part of the letter *h*. This emendation I owe to Pandit Bhāgmalal Indrajī. Read *te* for *ta*, according to *R*.

Line 3—Read *dera*. The *pala* before the lacuna is probable from the photograph. The restoration is certain on account of the corresponding passage in *R*, which here, as everywhere, substitutes the root *pālari* for *pālātari*. The second and third lacunas have been filled in according to *R*.

Line 4—Restorations according to *R* and *B*—Read *sarane*.

Line 5—Read *cha jānamtu*.

Line 6—Read *savane*, the facsimile has *dute*, but according to the photograph *dure*, which the sense requires, is at least probable, if not certain.

Line 7—Restoration suggested by the fact that two syllables have been lost, and a relative pronoun is desirable, though not absolutely necessary.

No' 9

ROCK INSCRIPTION AT RUPNATH.

Transcript by DR G. BUHLER

- 1 Devânâm piye hevam ihâ satirakekani adhitisâni 'va[sâ], ya sumi
 pakâ sa [va] ki no cha badhi pakate Sâtuleke chu chhavachhare,
 ya sumi hal a sangha pâpite
- 2 badhi cha pakate Yî im iya kalaya Jambudipasi amisâ
 deva husu, to danî mîsa kîî Pakamasî hî esa phale,
 no cha esî mahatîrîpâ potave Khudakenâ hî ka
- 3 pi parumaminena sakîye pipule svage aradhave Etiya athaya
 cha sîvane kate khudaka cha udîla cha pakamamtu tî, atâ pi cha
 janamtu, Iyam pakare cha
- 4 kîî P chirathutike sîyâ Iya hî athe vadhi vadhîsî, vipulâ
 cha vadhîsî, aradhîyena diyadhîyam vadhîsî Iya cha
 arthe prîvîsî lekhapetâ vâlîta hadhî cha, athî
- 5 sîlathubho sîlathambharî lîkhipeta vîyatî Etinî cha vîyajanenâ
 jîvîtakatu pakâ ahîle, savarî vîvace tavîyatî Vyuthena sîvane
 kate [su ñ plu] 256 sî—
- 6 tî vîvîsî tî

NOTES BY DR. BUHLER.—Materials used Two rubbings forwarded by General Cunningham

Line 1—Read *sâtulekânî*, the letter *tt* looks blurred, and is a mistake for *v*. For *paka* read *halâ*. There is a faint mark between *sa* and *ki* which may be *va*,—*savakî* is required as synonym for *upasake*.—*sangha ushîle* is a possible reading, as the letters appear to be half effaced. The reading given above is supported by *B*.

Line 2—Under the *va* of *deva husu* there is a vertical stroke resembling an *u*. Probably it is intended to indicate the absorption of the initial *a* of *ahusu*, and is the oldest form of the *avagraha* *S*. Read *esa* for *esa*. A letter may have stood between *khudakenâ hî* and *ka*. But I rather think the marks in the impression are accidental scratches.

Line 3—Read *pakamaminena*, *pipule*, *aradhave*,—the long *a* in *palare* is not quite certain.

No 10

ROCK INSCRIPTION AT BAIRAT.

Transcript by DR G BUEHLER

- 1 Devanam piye aba satī [lehanī * * * i e sa
 2 vāsa nam ya haka upāsake n[o cha] bādham
 3 * * * am mamaṃsā samghe papāyite [ba]dham cha *
 4 Jambudīpasi amisa- nam devahī * * vī * * * [pa la] kamasī esa [pha] le
 5 [n]o hī esa mahatane vachakaye * * * [pala] rumamīnenā ya * * * pa
 6 vipule pī svamge [sa]hīye aladhetave * * [khuda] ka cha udalā chā palakamatu tī
 7 amte pī jñāmtu tī chīlathitī [ke] * * [vī]pulam pī vadhīsati
 8 diyadhīyam vadhīsati [ñ phu] 56

NOTES BY DR BUEHLER.—Materials used Cunningham, *Corp Inscr*, Vol I, Pl XIV—and a cloth copy made by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indragi

Line 1—Cloth copy *devanam* The remnants of three letters towards the end of the line are also from the latter

Line 2—*Corp Inscr*—*paka* Cloth copy shows lower part of *n[o]*—*Corp Inscr*—*badhi* Cloth copy has remnants of these letters towards the end of the line

Line 3—*CI*—*payaye ate* and *badhi* In the cloth copy the top of *dha* is wanting

Line 4—Cloth copy *amisa na deve pī* and omits *vī* I conjecture *amisanam devanī[su te da] nī* Portions of the letters *laka* appear on the cloth copy—*CI*—*masī*

Line 5—*CI* begins the line *ha hī* the cloth copy shows *o* clearly—*CI* *mapatane* I think *mahatana* should be read, as the word forms a compound with *vachakaye* Read *[pala] lamamīmena* The cloth copy omits *ya pa*, which are not easily explained

Line 6—Cloth copy *vipule hī svamge takye*—*CI*—*vipule pī svamge līye* The above reading is conjectural, but supported by the analogy of *S* and *R* Possibly *sakīye* may be the right form Towards the end *CI* reads *[khuda] la che*, which is incorrect

Line 7—Cloth copy omits *am[te]*, shows half a *ta* instead of *tī* in *chīlathitī[ke]*, and omits *pū* in *[vī] pulam*

Line 8—Cloth copy *diyadhīya vadhīsati*, and omits the numeral signs I must confess that I doubt the correctness of the latter, on account of their position

NOTE BY GENERAL CUNNINGHAM.—These numeral signs were brought to my notice by my Assistant, Mr Carlleyle, the discoverer of the inscription I have since had fresh impressions made of the whole inscription, from which the dotted numerals given in the plate were taken Mr Carlleyle thought that he could trace three numeral figures That there are marks on the rock at the end of the inscription is quite certain, but as I have not examined the rock myself, I am unable to affirm positively that they are numerals—A C

No 12.

KHANDAGIRI ROCK

See Prinsep in Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, VI, 1050 (a)

1	J P	Namo	Arabantānam	namo	sava—	Sidhānam	Aircna	maharajena
	A C	Namo	Arahantānam	namo	sava—	Sidhānam	Aircna	maharājena
	J P	mahāmeghavāhanena	chetakājato *	chihadanena		prathasukela—		l hanena
	A C	mahāmeghavāhanena	chetarāmjaya savam	dhanena		prathasul elā		khanena
	J P	chaṭurantālatha	ganena	kalingādhupatiraṣi		sil hura		avalonam
	A C	chaturamkalatha	gunena	* tena kalingadhupatichi		sal āva		avalena
2	J P	pandarasa	vasāni	siri kadara—	sariravata	kidita kumaraḥ idikā,		tato
	A C	pandarasa	vasāni	siri kadāra	sariravatā	Iditā kumarakidikā,		tato
	J P	lekharūpa gana nāva—	vapāra	vidhi visāra dena		sava vijāvadatenā		navasāni,
	A C	lekharūpa gana nāva—	repāra	vidhi visāra dena		sava-vijavadatenam		navasāni,
	J P	hota	ruja	pansāsivase,	puna	chavavivati vase	danava	dhamena
	A C	hotā	vaja	pansasivasa,	puna	chaturvinkati-vasesu	danava	dhamena
	J P	sesajavenā	bhivijayo	tative				
	A C	sesajovanā	bhivijapo (b)	tatiye				
3	J P	kalinga rāja	vasa puri	sanyuge,		maharajabhisechanam		papunāti
	A C	kalinga rāja	vasa-puri	sanyuge,		maharajabhise-chanam		papunāti
	J P	Abhisita	mata	vapa dhamavase	vativihatato	pura pihara		nivaram
	A C	Abhisita	mato	champradhama vase	vativihatato	pura pihara		nivaramam
	J P	patīsaṅkharayati	Kalinga nagari	khudhura	istala	tadiya	pariyo	cha
	A C	patīsaṅkharayati	Kalinga nagari	khumbira	istāla	tadiya	pādiyo	cha
	J P	bathupayasi	sava	jānapati	santhapa (nam) cha			
	A C	thāpa (?) priyati	sava	janampati	santhapānam cha			
4	J P	kārayati,	panatīsurasūhi (c)	satasāhaseli	pakatiyo	rajayati		datiya
	A C	kārayati,	pannatīsurasūhi	satasāhaseli	pakatiye	rajayata		datiya
	J P	cha	vāse,	āchitayitā	sotekare	pachhimā	disam,	haya
	A C	cha	vase,	achitayita	sotakāni	pachhima	disam	ihā
	J P	gaja	nara	radha	bahula	darin	pathipayati	kansabanāgataya
	A C	yejam	nara	radha	bahulalanam to		pathapanati	sābānagataya
	J P	dasanāya	vātānam	sakanagara	vāsino	punavase		
	A C	disenoya	vātānanta	sakanagara	navaye	punavase		

(a) The differences between Kittoe's text, which Prinsep used, and the text of the photograph of the plaster cast, are so numerous, that I have thought it better to give my own reading from the new text, than to note the many variations

(b) Reading of last syllable doubtful

(c) The last two letters of this word would appear to have been accidentally repeated by Kittoe. This is a very common occurrence with hand made transcripts

5 J P	gandhava	veda budho dampana	tabhata	vaditā	sāndasanāhi	usava		
A C	gandhava	veda-budha dampana	tagi (?) ta	vādita	sandasanahi	usava		
J P	samaja	kārāpanāhi	cha	kūdapayati	nāgarī	Tatha	vivuthevasa	
A C	samaja	kārāpanāhi	cha	kūdapayanti	nagari	Tatha	vivuthevasa	
J P	vijadharādhivāse	a (ra) hata	puva	Kalinga	puva	Rajāni	vasati	
A C	vijadharādhivasam	a (no letter) hata	puva	Kalinga	puva	Rajān	* * * ?	
J P	(gap)	vata	dhama	(not rendered)				
A C	(about 10 letters)	vata	dhama	tisapāta (?) yatī (?)	te	cha	nikhita chhata (?)	
6 J P	(a) bhigārehi	taratana	sāpatena	savarathika	bhojakēpā	devam	dāpayati	
A C	bhigarehi	taratanam	sapataye	savarathika	bhojakēpa	devam	dasayati	
J P	Pachachadānivase	NANDA	Raja	tivasata	ughatitam	tannisaraha		
A C	Panchapanchadānivase	NANDA	Raja	tivasasata	ughatitam	tannamsuliyam		
J P	vaja	panadi	nagaia	pasesa				
A C	vata	panādi	nagaia	pavesa	* viso (about 10 letters)	sabhisori cha	* * hāsa	
J P								
A C	cha	sandesam	tosa	vakaia	vane			
7 J P	anugaha	anekani	sata sahasani	visajati	porajanapadam	sitamanchritsam		
A C	anugaha	anekani	sata sahasani	visejati (a)	orajānepadam	satamachivesam		
J P	pasāsato	vajaragharavedham	satam	gharini	savata	kaha	dapanna	
A C	pasa sato	vajaraghavadhasatima		gharini	savata	koha	dapana	
J P	narapa	(gap)	thame	vase	manam	ta	ge giri	
A C	narapa ketana (about 18 letters)	ye	thame cha	vase	mananti menī * ya * * *	tapabhate dare	sari idhi	
8 J P	ghātāpayitā	raja	gābham	upapīdapayati	dhatinam	cha	kammupādāna	
A C	ghātāpayita	raja	gambhu (b)	upapīdapayuti	dhatinam	chi	kammupādāna	
J P	panādena	pambātasena	vāhayati	pammuchita	madhuram	apanata		
A C				pamachutu	madhuram	apayato		
J P			mora	dadāti				
A C	navam	ranā ba (about 24 letters)	mora	dadāti	ya (c) (5 letters)	pira chako (6 letters)	palavamake	
9 J P	kapam	ukha	haya	gaja (lulapa ?)	sahāya	sesa	cha ghara	vsāya
A C	kapam	ukha	haya	gaja (2 letters)	sahaya	sesa	cha ghara	vasaya
J P	anatika-gana	nirāsasahananchi	karāyitun,	ba	imanānam	jatapi		
A C	anatika gava ?	yasuvāgahanancha	karayitum,	ba	imanonam	japuha		
J P	paradadāti,							
A C	sāra dadati	arapato (about 40 letters)						

(a) The initial letter may perhaps be *ṛ* *p*, but as I can see no upturn to the right, it looks to me like an initial *o*

(b) The reading of this word is doubtful

(c) This letter *y* is placed above the line, and was evidently inserted afterwards

10 J P	* * *	mannati	rāja	pandarasa	mahaviṣaya	pñādam	karayati
A C	venati	manati	raja	prindarasa	mahaviṣaya	puṇḍ	karayati
J P							
A C	atha hita	duṣasvasahasu	daśāmo	chatuso *	datibhara		(1 letter)
J P							
A C	karathavya	pa *	na mahajava (7 letters)	rū chā bī yati (9 letters)			
J P							
A C	thayā lann (3 letters)	ja *	sanji (3 letters)	yatana	soti	yo	ru * ni upa kē l t
11 J P		puve	rāja	nive itam	pithu	d gā	dambha
A C	(10 letters)	puve	rāja	nive itam	pithu	daga	dambha
J P	nahasmyatta	janapide,	bhuvana	cha	terasa	vase	ratika
A C	nahasmyata	janapida	bhuvana	che	terasu	va e	ratika
J P	* * *	anaridehisa	pita	butasa			
A C	bhudasitumaradchasa		pita	butasa	madava (21 letters)	he	chi
J P			soti	pithurajani			
A C	(1 letters)	phala vitisayata	utara	pithurajano			
12 J P							
A C	(11 letters)	ma	dhānam	cha	vipula (3a) bhayam	juncto	hathasun
J P							
A C	yati * * ma	cha	nijānam	baha	sati	sitapi	deva
J P							
A C	rājani	ta vamaṅga	jinasa	(10 letters)	ma	ra	(5 letters)
J P							
A C	sudha	mariga	Maṅgala	Vasasa	gam ri (5 letters)		
13 J P	* * *	ta	jñlo	rahakula	Bāṇasasi	hurananivayati	
A C	(11 letters)	tu	jiva	rahakulayo	Bāṇasasi	huranani	cha iyati
J, P							
A C	sata	vasadanā thari	hārenam	avita	mas'iriyā	che	hathi *
J P							
A C	pariba	* * ya (4 letters)	na *	piva	mahā	ri	rajino
J P							
A C	dato	mani	ratanaṇi	aharupayati	-		
J P							
A C	*	tavana *	ratanaṇi	aharupayati	idha	santo	ribha
14 J P	* * *	si	novasikariti	terasamava	vasesu	princhatā (a)	vijayā
A C	* * *	novasikariti	terasamava	terasamava	vasesu	princhatā	vijayā

(a) In Kittos's copy this word may be read as *paḍata*, thus agreeing with my reading of *puvati*.

J P	chana	kumâri	pasange	arahate	punavāsati	pi	kamari
A C	chanam	kumâri	pavate (a)	arahato	punavasati	hi (b)	kjari (c)
J P	sidinaya	yâpuravake					
A C	sidinaya	yapujake	hira *	ladatini	chenam	daveni	nasa sritini
J P							
A C	ujani	kata	uvâsâye	rava	laduânî	jivima *	kapuri khita (7 letters) P
15 J P							
A C	(11 letters)	sakata	—	vihitanancha	sata	disanam	
			—	vihitenam cha	suta	davinam	
J P							
A C	tanâpe	simapusa	isa	pupanam	cha	hasini	sidiya samipe
							sidaya samipa
J P	subhara				aneke	yajanî	
A C	subhara	va + bhasa	matha	ghisipa	anake	yojana	pita ghipa
J P							
A C	* * pipe	* * * ni	* * * *	vinis lapî bhaghapatha	* * *		dhiranîni dhadayana
16 J P		patulake	chatarî	cheteghariya	gabha	thambhe	pati (thi)
A C	(10 letters)	patalake	chatarâ	cheteghariya	gabhe	thabhe	pati tha
J P	payati			—			
A C	payati	pannantariyasa	cha	vasâ	* * * ja	* * ya kala che	chinam
J P			agisati	katariyam	napâdachhati	agama	raja savatha
A C	chacho	yatha	agesati	katariyam	napadayati	agama	raja savatha
J P	râja,	saurase (na) rja,	* ma raja,	pasata	saghate		ranani
A C	raja	sambhi P	* * * ja nama raja,	pasata	sanauto	anubhivato +	ranani
17 J P,		u vi se	kusalo	sava	pasanda		pujan (iya)
A C	(11 letters) ruta	pino chhise (P)	kusalo	sava	pathabhi (d)		pujako
J P	(17 letters	)	karakâra *	patihata	lakivâhami		balevaka
A C	(7 letters) ta	* * *	makaraka **	padahata	— chakovahani		thalo chako
J P	dhagata	chana	pavata	chako	rajasanki	lavinaravato	mahavijaye
A C	dharaguta—	chako	pivata —	chako	rajasavim	sakula vim gato	mahavijayo
J P	râja	lharavela	sanda				
A C	râjâ	lharavela	sirno.				

(a) This word is quite clear.

(b) Perhaps *parinavasaria*

(c) This word is quite clear

(d) The letters of this word are indistinct. I have given what they appear to be to my own eye, but Prinsep's reading may be right

No 13

DEOTEK SLAB

Left Inscription

1 Sami var	anyapayeti	Chikambari	* * ga pa *
2 hanam var	to badham to	7â * ta	siradam * * natha sakadam kura * va
3 ame var ama	cha nala cha	* * * *	nam * na
4 dato var dato	30 4 3 le * *	He Pa I Di 14	Budhe?

Right Inscription

1 Chiklamburi var	* sa * * sa dyi pu	
2 sa ja tra ? var pa		
3 Pûruriva? var da ma	* * * cha	barya ya banjya ya
4 vansi (pu) var	trasya tasya	* Rudra
5 Sena Rajuya var	* *	dharma * mina sy atta

CAVE INSCRIPTIONS

BARÂBAR

No 1

Suddâma Cave

1	Lâjina	Piyadasinâ	duvadasa	vasâbhîsitenâ
2	iyam	Nigoha kubhâ	dinâ	âdivikembî (a)

No 2

Visva Cave

1	Lâjina	Piyadasinâ	duvâ
2	dasâ	vasâbhîsitenâ	iyam
3	kubha	Khalatikâ	pavatasî
4	dinâ	âdivikembî (b)	

No 3

Kaina Cave

1	Lâja	Piyadasî	ekunevin—
2	—satî	vasâbhîsitenâ	methâ
3	adâmathâtîma	iyam	kubhâ
4	sumpiye	Khalantî	pavata dî
5	na (c)		

NAGARJUNI CAVES

No 4

Vapiyaka Cave

1	Vapiyake kubhâ	Dasalathena	Devânampiyena
2	ânantaliyam	abhîsitenâ	âdivikembî
3	Bhadantehî	vasanisidiyaye	misithe
4	âchandama	suliyam	

No 5

Gopîka Cave.

1	Gopîka kubhâ	Dasalathena	Devânampî—
2	—yenâ	ânantaliyam	abhîsitenâ âdî—
3	—vikembî	Bhādantehî	vasanisidiyaye
4	nisithâ	âchandama	suliyam

(a) The last six letters of this inscription are not given in Kittoe's copy, (Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal XVI, Pl IX, No 5,) but they are quite legible, in spite of a determined attempt to obliterate them with a chisel. Burnouf sagaciously corrected Kittoe's reading of *Nigopa* to *Nigoha*, which is the name of the cave, that is, the *Nyagrodha*, or Banyan Tree Cave — "Le Lotus," Appendice, 780

(b) My reading of this inscription agrees in every letter with that of Kittoe's copy and Burnouf's transcript

(c) In the first line Kittoe read *ekanevisitî*, which Burnouf corrected to *ekonavisatî*. The rest of this inscription is indistinct, and is so imperfectly given by Kittoe, that Burnouf could make nothing of it. The only part that I have been able to restore with certainty is the name of the *Khalatî* or *Khalantî* hills, which occurs also in No 2 — "Le Lotus," Appendice, 780

No 6

Vadathika Cave

1	Vadathikā kubha	Dasalathena	Devānam—
2	—piyena	ānantaliyam	abhisitenā ā—
3	—divikemhi	Bhadantehi	vāsanasidiyāye
4	nisitha	āchandanu	sūhiyam

These three inscriptions, which were first published by Prinsep, have had the advantage of Burnouf's critical correction. Prinsep's texts and versions will be found in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol VI, 676, and Burnouf's revised texts and translations in *Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, 775-776. Dasaratha was the grandson of Asoka, and succeeded to the throne in B. C. 218, in which year these inscriptions are dated.

KHANDAGIRI

No 1

Nameless Cave

Pāda muhhasa	kusumasa	lenam
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No 2

Snake Cave

Chulakammasa	kotha jayā	cha
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No 3

Snake Cave

Kamase	ra * * * lhi
Nayacho	p usade

No 4

Tiger Cave

J P	Ugara	avedasa	sasuvino	lonam
A C	Ugara	akhadasa	sabbhutino	lenam

No 5

Nameless Cave

J P	Māpāmadāti	bāhaya	yanāhiyasa	lonam
A C	Māpāmadasa	banjayaya	nāhiyasa	lenam

No 6

Pawan Cave

J P	Chulakumasa	priseti	kothaja (ya)
A C	Chula krammasa	pasato	kothaja

No 7

Manikpura Cave

J P	Verasa	mahāhiyasa	Kalingadhi patano	ma * * * * *
A C	Ahrasa	maharāyasa	Kalingadhipatino	ma (hamegha) vahra (na)
J P	* kaḍepa	suvino	lonam	
A C	* depa	suvino	lenam	

No 8

Manikpura Cave

J P	kumâro	Vattakasa	lonam
A C	kumâro	Vaddakasa	lenam

No 9

Vaikunta Cave

J P	Arahanta	pasâdanam	Kalinga *	ya * nânam	lona	kadatam
A C	Arahanta	pasadanam	Kalunganam	Samanânam	lenam	kâritam

J P	rajinolasâ *	2	hethisahasam	panotasaya	*
A C	Rajino Lâlakasa *	2	hathî sâhanam	panâtasa	chî tino

J P	Kalinga	* * * * *	velasa	3	agamahî	pitâkadâ
A C	Kalinga	cha * * * *	velasa	3	agamahî	pîdâkâdâ

No 13

RAMGARH CAVES IN SIRGUJA

I—Sîtâ Bânjirâ Cave

line 1	Adipayanti	hâdayam	sada	va garîka	vayo
	eha tayam				
„ 2	dule	vasantiyâ	ha	savânû	bhute
	kudastatam	evam	alangî		

II—Jogrî Mârî Cave

„ 1	Sutanuka nama		
„ 2	Devadasinyî		
„ 3	Sutanuka nama	Deva	dasinyî
„ 4	tam	kamayî tha	balanaçeye
„ 5	Deva	dina nama	lupadakhhe

N B—The texts of these cave inscriptions have been taken from Mr Beglar's paper impressions. For Nos 4 and 9, I have had the advantage of consulting the photographs of Mr H H Locke's plaster of Paris casts, No 1 is a new inscription.

PILLAR INSCRIPTIONS.

EDICT I

(Delhi, North)

D S	Devānaṃpiye	Piyadasī	Lāṇa	hevaṃ	āha	Saddaṇṇasatīvaṇṇasābhāsitename	abhāsitename
D M							
A	Devānaṃpiye	Piyadasī	Lāṇa	hevaṃ	āhā	Saddaṇṇasatīvaṇṇasābhāsitename	
L A	Devānaṃpiye	Piyadasī	Lāṇa	hevaṃ	āha	Saddaṇṇasatīvaṇṇasābhāsitename	
L N	Devānaṃpiye	Piyadasī	Lāṇa	hevaṃ	āha	Saddaṇṇasatīvaṇṇasābhāsitename	
D S	yaṃ	dhammaḥ	likhāpita	³ hīdatāpālate		dusāṃpātīpādāye	Annata
D M							
A	yaṃ	dhammaḥ	likhāpita	hīdatāpālate		dusāṃpātīpādāye	² Annata
L A	yaṃ	dhammaḥ	² likhāpita	hīdatāpālate		dusāṃpātīpādāye	Annata
L N	yaṃ	dhammaḥ	likhāpita	hīdatāpālate		dusāṃpātīpādāye	Annata
D S	agāya	dhammakāmatāya	⁴ agāya	palikhāya,	agāya	sususaṇṇa,	agena
D M							
A	agāya	dhammakāmatāya	agāya	palikhāya,	agāya	sususaṇṇā,	agena
L A	agāya	dhammakāmatāya	agāya	palikhāye,	³ agāya	sususaṇṇa,	agena
L N	agāya	dhammakāmatāya	³ agāya	palikhāya,	agāya	sususaṇṇa,	agena
D S	bhayena,	⁵ agena	usāhena,	esa	chulhomama	anusāthiya	⁶ dhammapekha
D M							
A	bhayena,	agena	usāhena	esa	chulhomama	anusāthiya	³ dhammapekhha
L A	bhayena,	āgena	usāhena	esa	chulhomama	anusāthiya	dhammapekhha,
L N	bhayena,	agena	usāhena	esa	chulhomama	⁴ anusāthiya	dhammapekhha,
D S	dhamma kāmata	cha	suve	suve	vadhita	vadhīsati	che vā
D M							
A	dhammakāmatā	cha	suve	suve	vadhita	vadhīsati	che vā
L A	⁴ dhammakāmatā	cha	suve	suve	vadhita	vadhīsati	che vā
L N	dhammakāmata	cha	suve	suve	vadhita	vadhīsati	che vā
D S	⁷ pulisāpi	cha	me	ukasa	chā	gevaṇṇa	chā
D M							
A	pulisāpi	a	me	ukasa	cha	gevaṇṇa	cha
L A	pulisāpi	a	me	ukasa	cha	gevaṇṇa	cha
L N	pulisāpi	a	me	ukasa	cha	gevaṇṇa	cha
D S	anuvīdhīyānti	⁸ sampatipādāyānti	cha	alañchapaḥ	samādapayitave		hēmevā
D M							
A	anuvīdhīyānti	sampatipādāyānti	cha	⁴ alañchapaḥ	samādapayitave		hēmevā
L A	anuvīdhīyānti	⁵ sampatipādāyānti	cha	alañchapaḥ	samādapayitave		hēmevā
L N	anuvīdhīyānti	sampatipādāyānti	cha	alañchapaḥ	samādapayitave		⁶ hēmevā

(a) The word *cha* is omitted in these three texts

D S	añṭa	⁹ mahāmâtâpī	esahī	vidhī	yâ,	īyam	dhammena	pālanâ,
D M	añṭa	mahāmâtâpī						* nâ,
A	auta	mahāmâtâpī	esahī	vidhī	yâ	īyam	dhammena	pālana,
L A	añṭa	mahāmâtâpī	esahī	vidhī	yâ	īyam	dhammena	pālana,
L N	añṭa	mahāmâtâpī	esāhī	vidhī	yâ	īyam	dhammena	pālana,

D S	dhammena	vidhāne,	¹⁰ dhammena	sukhiyanâ,	dhammena	gotitī	
D M	dhammena	vidhāne,	¹⁰ dhammena	su			
A	dhammena	vidhāne,	dhammena	sukhiyanâ,	dhammena	gotitī	cha
L A	⁶ dhammena	vidhāne,	dhammena	sukhiyana,	dhammena	gotitī	
L N	dhammena	vidhāne,	dhammena	sukhiyana,	⁷ dhammena	gotitī	

EDICT II

(Delhi, North)

D S	Devanaṃpiye	Piyadasi	Laja	¹¹ hevam	āhā	Dhammesādhu,	kīyamcha
D M	¹¹ Devanaṃpiye	Piyadasi	Laja	he—		Dhammesādhu,	kīyamcha
A	⁵ Devanaṃpiye	Piyadasi	Lājā	hevam	āhā	Dhammesadhu,	kīyamcha (a)
L A	⁷ Devanaṃpiye	Piyadasi	Laja	hevaṃ	āha	Dhammesādhu,	kīyamcha
L N	⁸ Devanaṃpiye	Piyadasi	Lāja	hevaṃ	āha	Dhammesadhu,	kīyamcha

D S	dhammeti	apasinave	bahukayāne	¹² dayādāne	sache	sochaye	chakhudane
D M	dhammeti	¹² apāsinave	bahukayani	dayādāne	sache	sochaye	chakhudane
A	dhammeti	apasinave	bahukayāne	dayādāne	sache	sochaye	chakhudane
L A	dhammeti	apāsinave	bahukayāne	dayadane	sache	⁸ socheyeti	chakhudane
L N	dhammeti	apasinave	bahukayane	⁹ dayadane	sache	socheyeti	chakhudane

D S	pime	bahuvidhe	dinne,	dupada	¹³ chatupadesu,	pakhī	vālichalesu
D M	pime	¹³ bahuvidhe	dinne,	dupada	chatupadesu,	pakhī	vālichalesu
A	pime	⁶ bahuvidhe	dinne	dupada	chatupadesu,	pakhī	vālichalesu
L A	pime	bahuvidhe	dine,	dupada	chatupadesu,	pakhī	vālichalesu
L N	pime	bahuvidhe	dine,	dupada	chatupadesu,	pakhī	¹⁰ vālichalesu

D S	vividhe me	anugahe	kate,	apāna	¹⁴ dakhinaye	aññānipicha	me
D M		¹⁴ gahe	kate,	ṛpane	dākhānāyo	aññānipiche	me
A	vividhe me	anugahe	kate	ṛpana	dakhinaye	annānipicha	me
L A	vividha me	anugahe	kate,	⁹ ṛpana	dakhinaye	aññānipicha	me
L N	vividhe me	anugahe	kate,	apana	dakhināye	annānipicha	me

D S	bahuni	kayānāni	katāni,	etāye	me	athaye	īyam	dhammālipi
D M			¹⁵ katāni,	etāye	me	athāye	īyam	dhammalipi
A	bahuni	kayānāni	katāni,	⁷ etāye	me	athāye	īyam	dhammalipi
L A	bahuni	kayānāni	katāni,	etāye	me	athāye	īyam	dhammalipi
L N	bahūni	kayānāni	¹¹ katāni,	etāye	me	athaye	īyam	dhammalipi

D S	likhāpita.	Hevaṃ	anupatipajañtu	¹⁶ chilanthiti	kācha	hotutiti	yecha
D M			¹⁶ anupatipajañtu	chilāthiti	kācha	hot	
A	likhāpita	Hevaṃ	anupapajantu	chilathiti	kācha	hotūti	yecha
L A	likhāpita	Hevaṃ	¹⁰ anupatipajañtu	chilanthiti	kācha	hotūti	yecha
L N	likhāpita	Hevaṃ	anupatipajañtu	chilanthiti	kācha	hotūti	¹⁷ yecha

(a) The vowel u is perhaps only a flaw in the stone

D S	hevañ	sam̐patī	paṇṇasatī	se sukaṭaṃ	kachhatitī
D M		—	paṇṇasatī	se sukaṭha	kachhatitī
A	hevam	sampatī	paṇṇasatī	se sukaṭam	kachhatitī
L A	hevam	sampatī	paṇṇasatī	se sukaṭaṃ	kachhatitī
L N	hevam	sampatī	paṇṇasatī	se sukaṭaṃ	kachhatī

EDICT III

(Delhi, North)

D S	¹⁷ Devānampiyō	Piyadasi	Lāja	hevañ	ahā	kajānaṃ	meva	dekhatī
D M	²³ Devānampiyō	Piyadasi	Lāja	hevam	āhī	kajanaṃ	meva	dekhatī
A	⁸ Devanampiyō	Piyadasi	Lājā	hevam	āha	kajanaṃ	meva	dekhatī
L A	¹¹ Devanampiyō	Piyadasi	Lāja	hevam	āha	kajānaṃ	meva	dekhanṭī
L N	¹³ Devānampiyō	Piyadasi	Lāja	hevam	ahā	kajānaṃ	meva	dekhanṭī

D S	iyāñ	me	¹⁸ kaṇṇāno	katetī	Nomina	pāpam	dekhatī	iyam	me
D M	iyam	me	kaṇṇāno	katetī	Nomina	pāpam	dekhatī	iyam	me
A	iyam	me	kaṇṇāno	katetī	Nomina	pāpakam	dekhatī	iyam	me
L A	iyam	me	kaṇṇāno	katetī	Nomina	pāpam	dekhanṭī	iyam	me
L N	iyam	me	kaṇṇāno	katetī	Nomina	pāpam	¹⁴ dekhanṭī	iyam	me

D S	pape	katetī,	iyam	vā	āsinaṇḍe	¹⁹ nāmātī,	dupatī vekhe	chukho
D M	pape	katetī,	iyam	va	²⁰ āsinave	namatī,	dupatī vekhe	chukho
A	papake	katetī,	iyam	vā	asinave	nāmātī,	* * * (a)	* *
L A	pāpe	katetī,	¹⁷ iyam	va	āsinaṇḍe	nāmātī,	dupatī vekhe	chukho
L N	pape	katetī,	iyam	va	āsinaṇḍe	nāmātī,	dupatī vekhe	chukho

D S	esā	hevam	chukho	esa	dekhiye	I menī	²⁰ āsinava	gāmīni nama,
D M	esā	hevam	chukho	esa	dekhiye	²¹ I manī	āsinaṇḍe	gāmīni nama,
A	*	* *	* *	*	* *	* *	* *	* *
L A	esa	hevam	chukho	esa	dekhiye	I mānī	āsinaṇḍe	gāmīni nāmātī,
L N	esa	hevam	chukho	esa	dekhiye	¹⁵ Imānī	asinava	gāmīni nāmātī,

D S	atha	chandiye	nithūhiye	kodhemāne	isyā	²¹ kalane navaṭhakam	ma
D M	atha	chandiye	nithūhiye	kodhe ²² mane	isyā	kalane navaṭhakam	mā
A	*	* *					
L A	atha	chandiye	¹³ nithūhiye	kodhe māne	isyā	kālanenavaṭhakam	ma
L N	atha	chandiye	nithūhiye	kodhe māne	isyā	kālanenavaṭhakam	¹⁶ mā

D S	palibhasayisam	esa bādha	dekhiye	iyam	me	²² hīdatīkaye	iyam
D M	palibhasayisam	esa badha	²³ dekhiye	iyam	me	hīdatīkaye	iyam
A	—						
L A	palibhasayisanti	esa bādham	dekhiye	iyam	me	hīdatīkaye	iyam
L N	palibhasayisanti	esa bādham	dekhiye	iyam	me	hīdatīkaye	iyam

D S	mana	me	pālatīkaye
D M	(b)	me	pālatīkaye
A			
L A	mana	me	pālatīkayeti
L N	mana	me	pālatīkayeti

(a) Here the Asoka inscription is cut away by Jahangir's barbarous record of his ancestry.

(b) Omitted in the original text.

EDICT IV

(Delhi, North)

D S	¹ Devânampiyē	Piyadasi	lāja	hevam	āhā	Saddavāsati	vasa	abbhisitenāma
D M								
A								
L A	¹⁴ Devanampiyē	Piyadasi	lāja	hevam	āhā	Saddavāsati	vasabhisitenāma	
L N	¹⁷ Devanampiyē	Piyadasi	lāja	hevam	āhā	Saddavāsati	vasabhisitenāma	
D S	iyam	dhammalipi	likhāpita	Lajukāme	³ bahusu	pāna	sata	sahasesu
D M								
A								
L A	iyam	dhammalipi	likhāpita	Lajukāme	bahusu	pāna	sata	sahasesu
L N	iyam	dhammalipi	likhāpita	Lajukame	¹⁸ bahusu	pana	sata	sahasesu
D S	janasi	āyata	tesam	ye	abhihāleva	⁴ dandeva	atapatiye	me kate
D M				—				—
A				—				—
L A	¹⁵ janasi	āyata	tesam	ye	abhihāleva	dandeva	atapatiye	me kate
L N	janasi	āyata	tesam	ye	abhihāleva	dandeva	atapatiye	me kate
D S	kinti	lajukā	aswatha	abhitā	⁵ kammāni	pavataye	vu	janasa
D M							—	
A							—	
L A	kinti	lajuka	aswatha	abhita	kammāni	pavataye	vuti	janasa
L N	kinti	lajuka	aswatha	¹⁹ abhita	kammāni	pavataye	vuti	janasa
D S	janapadasi	hitasukham	upadahevu	⁶ anugahineva	cha	sukhiyana—		
D M								
A								
L A	janapadasa	¹⁶ hitasukham	upadahevu	anugahinevu	cha	sukhiyana—		
L N	janapadasa	hitasukham	upadahevū	anugahinevu	cha	sukhiyana—		
D S	dukkhiyanam	janasanti	Dhammayatena	cha	⁷ viyo	vidasanti	Janam	
D M				—				
A				—				
L A	dukkhiyanam	janasanti	Dhammayatena	cha	viyo	vasanti	Janam	
L N	dukkhiyanam	²⁰ janasanti	Dhammayatena	cha	viyo	vasanti	Janam	
D S	janapadam	kintihī	datam	cha	palitam	cha	⁸ aladhayevuti	lajuka
D M				—		—		
A				—		—		
L A	janapadam	kintihī	datam	cha	¹⁷ palatam	cha	ālādhayevuti	lajuka
L N	janapadam	kintihī	datam	cha	palatam	cha	ālādhayevūti	lajuka
D S	pilaghanti, (a)	patichalitveman	pulisānipi me	⁹ chhandannāni	patichalisanti,	tepi	cha	
D M					patichalisanti,	¹⁰ tepi	cha	
A						—	—	
L A	pilaghanti	patichalitveman	pulisānipi me	chhandannāni	patichalisanti,	tepi	cha	
L N	pilaghanti	²¹ patichalitveman	pulisānipi me	chhandannāni	patichalisanti	tepi	cha	
D S	lāni	viyo	vasanti	yenamam	lajuka	¹⁰ chaghanti	ālādhayitave	
D M				—	—	chaghanti	ālādhā ¹¹ yitave	
A								
L A	lāni	viyo	vasanti	yenamam	¹⁸ lajuka	chaghanti	aladheyitave	
L N	lāni	viyo	vasanti	yenamam	lajuka	chaghanti	ālādhayitave	

(a) The two Lauriya Pillars read *pilaghanti*, with the rough guttural aspirate *gh*

D S	Athâ	hı pajam	vıyatâye	dhâtıye	nısrı jıtu	¹¹ aswatho	hotı ,	vıyata
D M				-	nısrı jıtú	aswatha	hotı ,	¹² vıyata
A					-			
L A	Atha †	hı pajam	vıyantâye	dhatiye	nısrı jıtu	aswatho	hotı	vıyata
L N	²² Athâ	hı pajam	vıyatâye	dhatiye	nısrı jıtu	aswatho	hotı	vıyata
D S	dhâtı	chaghantı	me pajam ,	sukham	halı	hantano	¹ hevam	mamâ
D M					lı	hantavo	hevam	mama
A					-			
L A	dhâtı	chaghantı	me pajam ,	sukham	halı	hatavetı	¹⁰ hevam	mama
L N	dhâtı	chaghantı	me pajam ,	sukham	halı	hatavetı	²³ hevam	mama
D S	ıajúkâ	katâ	jânnapadasa	hıtasukkhâye	yena	ete	abhitâ	¹³ aswatha
D M	¹³ ıajúka			yo	yena	ete	abhitâ	¹⁴ aswatha
A						-		
L A	ıajúkâ	kate	jânnapadasa	hıtasukkhayo	yena	ete	abhitâ	aswathâ
L N	ıajúka	kate	jânnapadasa	hıtasukkhayo	yena	ete	abhıta	aswathe
D S	santam	amamâ	kammâni	pavatıye	vâtı	Etena	me	ıajukanam
D M	san			vataye	vâtı	Etena	me	¹⁵ ıajukanam
A							-	¹⁶ (a)ram
L A	santam	amama	kammâni	pavataye	vutı	Etena	me	ıajúkânani
L N	santam	amama	kammâni	pavataye	vûtı	²⁴ Etena	me	ıajukanam
D S	¹⁴ abhihâleva	dandevâ	atapatiye	kate	Ichhitaviyechı	esâ	-	hıntı ,
D M			atapatiye	kate	¹⁶ Ichhitaviye	-		
A	abhihaleva	dandeva	atapatiye	kate	Ichhitaviyechı	esa		hıntı
L A	abhihaleva	²⁰ dandeva	atapatiye	kate	Ichhitaviye	esa		hıntı ,
L N	abhihaleva	dandeva	atapatiye	kate	Ichhitaviye	esa		hıntı ,
D S	¹⁵ vıyohâla	samatâ	cha	sıya	danda	samatâ	cha ,	ava
D M	hâlı	samatâ	cha	sıyâ	¹⁷ danda	samata		-
A	¹⁷ vıyohâla	samatâ	cha	sıya	danda	samatâ	oha	âva
L A	vıyohâla	samatâ	cha	sıya	danda	samatâ	cha ,	âvâ
L N	vıyohala	samatâ	cha	sıya	danda	samatâ	cha ,	²⁵ ava
D S	pıchame	avutı	¹⁶ Bandhana	badhânam	munısânıram	tıhıta		dandânam ,
D M	me	âvutı	Bandhana	badhânam	¹⁸ munısânıram			
A	pıchame	âvutı	Bandhana	badhânam	munısânıram	tıhıta		dandânam ,
L A	pıchame	avutı	Bandhana	badhânam	²¹ munısânıram	tıhıta		dandânam ,
L N	pıchame	avutı	Bandhane	bandhanam	munısânıram	tıhıta		dandânam ,
D S	pata	vadhânam	tınnı	divasâni	me ¹⁷ yote	dınnı	nâtı	kavahâni
D M	-	vadhânam	tınnı	divasâni	me ¹⁹ yote	dınnı	* *	* *
A	pata	vadhânam	tınnı	divasâni	(b) yote	dınnı	¹⁸ natı	kavahıni
L A	pata	vadhânam	tınnı	divasâni	me yote	dınnı	nâtı	kavahâni
L N	pata	vadhânam	tınnı	divasâni	me yote	dınnı	natı	kavahani
D S	nıjhapayısanti ,	jıvitaye	tanam	¹⁸ nasantam	vâ	nıjhapayıtı		dânam
D M	jhapayısanti ,	jıvitâye	tanam	²⁰ nasantam	vâ	ni		
A	nıjhapayısanti ,	jıvitaye	tanam	nasantam	va	nıjhapayıtâ		danam
L A	nıjhapayısanti ,	jıvıtıye	tanamı	nasantam	vâ	²² nıjhapayıtave		dânam
L N	²⁶ nıjhapayısanti ,	jıvitaye	tanam	nâsantam	vâ	nıjhapayıtave		dânam

(a) Here the Allahabad text becomes legible, the lower halves of the letters of the 16th line being visible under the flowered border of Jhangir's inscription

(b) Omitted in the original text

D S	dâhanti	pâlatikam	upavasam	va	kachhanti	¹⁹ Ichhâhime	hevam
D M	ti	palatikam	²¹ upavasam	va	ka	* * * *	hevam
A	dâhanti	pâlatikam	upâvasam	vâ	kachhanti	¹⁹ Icchahime	hevam
L A	dahanti	palatikam	upavâsum	va	kachhanti	Ichhâhî me	hevam
L N	dahanti	palatikam	upavâsum	va	kachhanti	Ichhâhî me	hevam

D S	niludhasipi	kâlasi	pâlatam	âlâdhaye	vûti	janasa cha	²⁰ vadhati
D M	niludhasipi	kâlasi	pâlatam	âlâdhaye			vadhati
A	niludhasipi	kalasi	palatam	âlâdhaye	vû	janasa cha	vadhati
L A	niludhasipi	kâlasi	palatam	âlâdhaye	vuti	²³ janasa cha	vadhati
L N	²⁷ niludhasipi	kalasi	palatam	âlâdhaye	vuti	janasa cha	vadhati

D S	vividhe	dhammachalane,	sayame	dânasâ	vibhâgeti	
D M	vividhe	dhammachalane,	²³ sayame	dana—		
A	vividhe	dhammachalane,	sayame	danasa	vibhâgeti	
L A	vividhe	dhammachalane	sayame	dânasâ	vibhâgeti	
L N	vividhe	dhammachalane	sayame	dânasâ	vibhâgeti	

EDICT V

(Delhi, South)

D S	¹ Devânampīye	Piyadasi	Lâja	hevam	ahâ	Saddavisativasa
D M						
A.	²⁰ Devânampīye	Piyadasi	Lâjâ	hevam	âha	Saddavisativasa—
L A	² Devânampīye	Piyadasi	Laja	hevam	aha	Saddavisativasa—
L N	¹ Devânampīye	Piyadasi	Laja	hevam	âha	Saddavisativasa—

D S	² abhisitenāme	imânî	jatânî	avadhiyânî	katânî	seyathâ,
D M						
A.	—bhīsitenāme	imânî	jatânî	avadhiyânî	katânî	seyatha,
L A	—bhīsitesame (a)	imânî	jatânî	avadhiyânî	² katânî	seyatha,
L N	—bhīsitesame	(b) imânîpi	² jatânî	avadhiyânî	katânî	seyatha,

D S	³ suke,	sâhika,	alune,	chakavâke,	hanse,	nandimukhe	gelâte,
D M							
A	suke,	sâhikâ,	alune,	chakavake,	hanse,	²¹ nandimukhe	gelâte
L A	suke,	sahika,	alune,	chakavake,	hanse,	nandimukhe	gelate
L N	suke,	sahika,	alune,	chakavake,	hanse,	³ nandimukhe,	gelate

D S	⁴ jatukâ,	ambakapilika,	dadî,	anathî kamachhe,		vedaveyake,
D M	* *					
A	jatukâ,	ambakapilikâ,	dubhî, (c)	anathî kamachhe,		vedaveyake,
L A	jatuka,	³ ambâkapilika,	dadî,	anathî kamachhe,		vedaveyake,
L N	jatuka,	ambâkapilika,	dudî, (c)	anathî kamachhe,		vedaveyake,

D S	⁵ gangâpuputake,	sankujamachhe,	kaphata	sayake,		pannasasesimale,
D M						
A	gangâpuputake,	sankujamachhe,	kaphata	* * ke,		pannasasesimale
L A	gangâpuputake,	sankujamachhe,	kaphata	seyake,	⁴	pannasasesimale
L N	⁴ gangâpuputake,	sankujamachhe,	kaphata	seyake,		pannasasesimale,

(a) Sic in both of the Lauriya texts

(b) The addition of *pi* at the end of the word *imânî* is peculiar to this text(c) The differences of reading in this name are curious. Perhaps *ôh* was intended in all which by the omission of a single small stroke would have become a cerebral *d*

D S	⁶ sandake,	okapinde, (a)	palasate,	setaka pote,	gāmaka pote,			
D M								
A	sandake,	* *	* *	²² takapote,	gumakapote,			
L A	sandake,	okapinde,	palasate,	setaka pote,	gāmaka pote,			
L N	sandake,	okapinde,	⁵ palasate,	setaka pote,	gāmaka pote,			
D S	⁷ save	chatupade,	ye patibhogam	no eti,	na	chakhadīyati,	ī,	
D M					—		ajakānani	
A	save	chatupade	ye patibhogam	no *	*	* *	* * nā	
L A	save	chatupade	⁶ ye pati * *	no eti,	na	chakhadīyati,	ajakānani,	
L N	save	chatupade	ye patibhogam	no eti,	na	chakhadīyati,	⁶ ajakanani	
D S	⁸ edakāchā,	sukāchā,	gabhinīva	prajaminava	avadhaya pātako			
D M	edakacha,		⁹ gabhin + va	prajaminava	avadhaya pātako			
A	* * *	* * *	* * *	pāyamī *	* * * *			
L A	edakā chā,	sūkālā cha,	gabhinīva	pājaminava ,	⁶ avadhya potake			
L N	edakacha, *	sūkālācha,	gabhinīva	prajaminava ,	avadhya potake			
D S	⁹ pichakanī	āsannmasiko	vadhikukute (b)	no	kataviye	tase	ṣṛjive	
D M	pichakanī	¹⁰ asannmāsiko	vadhikukute	no	kataviye	tase	ṣṛjive	
A	* * *	* * *	* * *	*	* * *	* *	²³ ṣṛjive	
L A	chakanī	asann masiko	vadhikukute	no	kataviye	tase	ṣṛjive	
L N	chakānī	⁷ āsanmasiko	vadhikukute	no	kataviye	tase	ṣṛjive	
D S	¹⁰ no jhapetaviye ,	dave	anathāyevā	vihisayeva	no jhāpetaviye			
D M	¹¹ no jhapetaviye	dave	anathāyeva	vihisayeva	no ¹² jhapetaviye			
A	no jhape * *							
L A	no jhapayitaviye	dave	⁷ anathayeva	vihisayeva	no jhapayitaviye			
L N	no jhapayitaviye	dave	anathayeva	⁸ vihisayeva	no jhapayitaviye			
D S	¹¹ jivenajīve	no	pusitaviye	tisu	chātun	masīsa	Tisāyam	punnamasīyam
D M	jīvenajīve	no	pusitaviye	tisu	chātun	masīsa	¹³ Tisayam	punnamasīyam
A		—						
L A	jivenajīve	no	pusitaviye	tisu	chātun	masīsa	Tisayam	⁸ punnamasīyam
L N	jivenajīve	no	pusitaviye	tisu	chātun	masīsa	Tisayam	⁹ punnamasīyam
D S	¹² tinnī	divasānī,	chāvudasam,	pannadāsam,	patipadāye	dhuvaya chā		
D M	tinnī	divasānī,	chāvudasam,	pannadāsam,	¹⁴ patipadāye	dhavāyecha		
A	* *	* * *	²¹ chāvudasam,	prachadasam,				
L A	tinnī	divasānī,	chāvudāsam,	pannadāsam,	patipadam,	dhuvāyecha		
L N	tinnī	divasānī,	chāvudasam,	pannadāsam,	patipadam,	dhuvāyecha		
D S	¹³ anuposatha	machhe	avadhīye	nopiviketaviye	etānī	yevā	divasānī	
D M	anuposatham	machhe	avadhīye	no pi ¹⁵ viketaviye	etānī	yeva	divasānī	
A				—				
L A	anuposatham	machhe	avadhīye	no pi ⁹ viketaviye	etānī	yeva	divasānī	
L N	anuposatham	machhe	avadhīye	¹⁰ no piviketaviye	etānī	yeva	divasānī	
D S	¹⁴ nāgavanasi,	hevatabhogasī	janī	annānī	pi	jivanikayani		
D M	nagavanasi,	hevatabhogasī	¹⁶ janī	annanī	pi	jivanikāyani		
A		—			—			
L A	nagavanasi,	hevatabhogasī,	janī	annanī	pi	jivanikayani		
L N	nagavanasi,	hevatabhogasī,	janī	annanī	pi	¹¹ jivanikayani		

(a) I have changed Prinsep's *uka* to *oka*, as the vowel is the initial *o* in all the texts

(b) Prinsep reads *kaka*, but all the texts agree as above in giving *kute*

D S	¹⁵ nohantaviyâni	Athamī	pakhâye,	châvudasâye,	pannadasâye,	Tisâye,		
D M	nohantaviyâni	¹⁷ Athamī	pakhaye,	chavudasâye,	pannadasaye,	Tisâye,		
A				—				
L A	¹⁰ nohantaviyâni	Athamī	pakhâye,	châvudasaye,	pannadasâye,	Tisâye,		
L N	nohantaviyâni	Athamī	pakhâye,	châvudasâye,	pannadasâye,	Tisâye,		
D S	¹⁶ punâvasune,	tîsun —	châtun—	mâsisu,	sudivasâye,	gone	noñlakhitaviye,	
D M	¹⁸ punâvasune,	tîsun	châtun—	mâsisu,	sudivasâye,	gone	¹⁹ no ñilakhitaviye	
A		—	—	²⁶ sudivasaye,	gone		no ñilakhitaviye	
L A	punâvasune,	tîsu—	châtun—	mâsisu,	¹¹ sudivasaye,	gone	no ñilakhitaviye	
L N	punâvasune,	¹⁰ tîsu—	chatun—	masîsu,	sudivasâye,	gone	no ñilakhitaviye	
D S	¹⁷ ajake,	edake,	sûkale,	evâpī	anne	ñilakhiyatī	no	ñilakhitaviye
D M	ajake,	edake,	sûkale,	evâpī	²⁰ anne	ñilakhiyatī	no	ñilakhitamviye
A	ajake,	eda—					—	
L A	ajake,	edake,	sûkale,	evâpī	anne	ñilakhiyatī	no	ñilakhitaviye
L N	ajake,	edake,	sûkale,	evâpī	anne	¹³ ñilakhiyatī	no	ñilakhitaviye
D S	¹⁸ tisâye,	punâvasune,	châtunmâsiye,	châtunmâsipakhâye,	asvasâ,	gonasâ,		
D M	tisâye,	punâvasune,	²¹ châtunmasiye,	châtunmâsipakhaye,	asvasâ,	gonasâ,		
A								
L A	¹² tisâye,	punâvasune,	chatunmâsiye,	châtunmâsipakhaye,	asvasa,	gonasa,		
L N	tisâye,	punâvasune,	châtunmâsiye,	châtunmâsipakhaye,	asvasa,	gonasa,		
D S	¹⁹ lakhune	nokhataviye	yâva	saddavisatīvasa	abhisitename	etâye		
D M	lakhune	²² nokhataviye	yâva	saddavisatīvasa	abhisitename	etâye		
A	²⁷ lakhune	nokativīye,	yâva	saddavisatīvasâbhī				
L A	lakhane	nokataīye	¹³ yava	saddavisatīvasâbhī	sitename	etâye		
L N	¹⁴ lakhane	nokativīye	yâva	saddavisatīvasabhisitename		etaye		
D S	²⁰ antalikhâye	pannavisatī	bandhana	mokhânī	katânī			
D M	²³ antalikhâye	pannavisatī	bandhana	mokhânī	katânī (a)			
A								
L A	antalikhâye	pannavisatī	bandhana	mokhânī	katânī			
L N	antalikhaye	pannavisatī	¹⁵ bandhana	mokhânī	katânī			

EDICT VI

(Delhi, East)

D S	¹ Devânampiye	Piyadasi	Lâja	hevam	ahâ	Duvâdasa
A	²³ Devânampiye	Piyadasī	Lâ*	* *	* *	* * *
L A	¹⁴ Devânampiye	Piyadasī	Lâja	hevam	âhâ	Duvadasa
L N	¹⁶ Devanampiye	Piyadasī	Laja	hevam	âha	Duvâdasa
D S	² vasa abhisitename	dhammalipi	hikhâpitâ	lokasâ		
A						
L A	vasâbhisitenume	dhammalipi	hikhâpita	lokasa		
L N	vasâbhisitename	dhammalipi	hikhâpita	¹⁷ lokasa		
D S	³ hitasukhâye,	setam	apahâtâ,	tamtam	dhammavadhī	pâpovâ
A					dhammavadhī	pâpovâ
L A	¹⁵ hitasukhaye,	setam	apabata,	tamtam	dhammavadhī	pâpovâ
L N	hitasukhaye,	setam	apabata,	tamtam	dhammavadhī	pâpova

(a) The inscription on the Delhi-Mirat Pillar ends here, the rest being lost by the abrasion of the stone

D S	⁴ hevam	lokasâ	hitasukhetî	pativekhâmî	Atha	iyam	⁵ nâtisu
A	hevam	lokasa	²⁹ hitasukhetî	pativekhâmî	Atha	* *	* *
L A	hevam	lokasa	hitasukhetî	pativekhâmî	¹⁶ Atha	iyam	nâtisu
L N	hevam	lokasa	¹⁸ hitasukhetî	pativekhâmî	Athâ	iyam	nâtisu

D S	hevam	patiyâsannesu,	hevam	apakathesu	⁶ kimanakani	sukham
A	* *	patiyasannesu,	hevam	apakathesu	kimanakani	su *
L A	hevam	patiyasannesu,	hevam	apakathesu	kimanakani	sukham
L N	hevam	patiyâsannesu,	hevam	apakathesu	¹⁹ kimanakani	sukham

D S	avahâmîti	tatha	cha	vidahâmî,	hemeva	⁷ savanikayesu
A	* * *	* *	*	idahâmî	hevam meva	sava * layesu
L A	avahâmîti	tathâ	cha	vidahâmî	¹⁷ hemeva	savanikayesu
L N	avahâmîti	tathâ	cha	vidahâmî	hemeva	savanikayesu

D S	pativekhâmî,	sava	pasandâ	pime	pujita	⁸ vavidhâya	pûjâya
A	pativekhâmî	²⁰ sava	pasandâ	pime	pujita	vavidhâya	* jâjâ
L A	pativekhâmî,	sava	pâsanda	pime	pujita	vavidhâya	pujâya
L N	pativekhâmî,	²⁰ sava	pâsanda	pime	pujita	vavidhâya	pujaya

D S	echu	iyam	atanâ	pachûpagamane	⁹ seme	mokhyamate
A	echu	iyam	atana	pachupagamane	seme	mukhyamute
L A	echu	iyam	atana	pachûpagamane	¹⁸ seme	mukhyamute
L N	echu	iyam	atana	pachupagamane	²¹ seme	mokhyamute

D S	saddavisativasa abhisitename	¹⁰ iyam	dhammalipi	lkhâpita
A	sa * * * * *	* *	* lipi	lkhapitâti
L A	saddavisativas abhisitename	iyam	dhammalipi	lkhapita
L N	saddavisativas abhisitename	iyam	dhammalipi	lkhâpita

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EDICT VII

(Delhi, East)

11	Devanampiyē	Piyadasi	lâja	hevam	ihâ	ye	atikantam
12	antalam	lajâne	husa	hevam	ichhisu,	katham	jane
13	dhammavadhîya	vadheya	nochujane	anulupâyâ	dhammavadhîya		
14	vadhithâ	etam	Devânampiyē	Piyadasi	laja	hevam	âhâ esame
15	huthâ	atâkantam cha	antalam	hevam	ichhisu	lajâne	katham jane
16	anulupâyâ	dhammavadhîyâ	vadheyâtî	nochajane	anulupâyâ		
17	dhammavadhîyâ	vadhitha	se	kina	sujane	anupatipajeya	
18	kina	sujane	anulupâyâ	dhammavadhîyâ	vadhejati,	kina	sukani
19	abhyum	nâmayeham	dhammavadhîyati	etam	Devanampiya	Piyadasi	laja hevam
20	âhâ	esame	huthâ	dhammasâvanani	sâvâpâyâmi	dhammanusathini	
21	anusisâmi	etam	jane	sutu	anupatipajisati	abhyum	namisati

EDICT VIII

(Delhi, around the Pillar)

1 Dhamma vadhya cha bādham vadhīsatī etāye me athāye dhamma sāvānani
 sīvāpīṭṭi dharmmanusathīni vivīdhani ānapitāni (yathatīyā) papibbhūne jñāsm ayata
 ete paliyo vadīsantīpi pīvithāhīnatīpi lājukāpi bahukesu pāna sīta sahasesu
 āyatī tepime anapita hevam cha hevam cha paliyo vādathā

2 janam dhammayatim Devanāmpīye Piyadasi (a) hevam aha eta meva me
 anuvakkhamane dhamma thambhāni katani, dhammamahāmāta kata, dhamma
 (kha) kate Devānāmpīye Piyadasi lāja hevam aha magesu pi me nigohani
 lopa pīṭṭi chhāyopagāni hasanti pīsumunisanam ambavadikāyā lopāpīṭṭi vdhakosikayā
 pi me udupānāni

3 khānapīṭṭi nīsi diyācha kalapīṭṭi āpanani me bahukani tita tata kalāpīṭṭi
 patibhogāye pīsumunisanam (sa * *) esa patibhoganama vivīdhayāni sukhayanāya
 puli me hīpi (b) lājūni maniyācha sukhīyite loke imamechu dharmmanupatīpatī
 pīṭṭi etīdathā me

1 esā kate Devanāmpīye Piyadasi (b) hevam aha dhammamahāmāta pīme tī
 bhū bhū bhū anugrāhesu viyapita se pavīpīṭṭam cheva gīhīṭṭam
 cha sava (pāsā)desu pīcha viyāpita se sanghīṭṭi pīme kate ime
 viyapitā hohantī himeva Bābhānesu ajīvikesu pīme kate

(Delhi, around the Pillar)

5 ime viyapitā hohantī, nīgāthesu pīme kate, ime viyapitā hohantī nan
 pāsādesu pīme kate ime viyapitā hohantī pativīṭṭam pīvīṭṭam tesutesu
 te te mahāmāta dhammamahāmāta chu me etesu cheva viyāpātā, savesu cha annesu
 pāsādesu Devanāmpīya Piyadasi lāja hevam ābā

6 ete cha anne cha bahukā mukhā dānāvisagasi viyapata se mama cheva
 devanam cha, savasi cha me olodhanasi (c) te bahu vidhena a * leni
 tani tani tathā yatāni (d)ni patī (ta * *) hīda cheva disasu cha dākanam pi
 cha me kate annanam cha devīkumalanam imedanāvisagesu viyapātā hohantī

7 dhammāpīṭṭi thaye dharmmanupatīpatīye esā dhammapādāne dhammapatīpatī cha
 ya iyam diyādāne sache so chāve madāve sadāvecha lokasa hevam vadhīsatī
 Devanāmpīye piyadasi lājā hevam ābā yīnīkānīchi manīya sadhavanī katani
 tam loke anupatīpāne tam cha anuvīdhīyanti tena vadhita cha

8 vadhīsanti cha matapītisu susāsāyā gulusu susāsāyā vayo mahālikānam anupatīpatīyā
 Bābhāna Samānesu, kapaṇavālikesu, avadasa bhātakasu sampatīpatīya Devānāmpīye
 (Piy)adasi lājā hevam ābā munīśānam chu ya iyam dhammavādhi vadhitā
 duvehi yeva akālehi dhammanīyāmena cha nījhatīya cha

9 tata chu lahuse dhamma nīyame nījhatīyāva bhūye dhammanīyame chukho
 esa yeme iyam kate imānīcha imāni jātāni avadhīyanti annāni pīchu
 bhūh () dhammanīyāmāni yāni me katanī nījhatīya va chu bhūye
 munīśānam dhammavādhi vadhita avīhīnsāye bhūtānam

10 mālambhāye pānānam se etāye athāye iyam kate puta papotike chanda
 masūyīke hotutī tathā cha anupatīpajantutī hevam hī anupatī pajantam
 hīdātī (pāla)te alādhe hotī satavīsativasabhisitenāme iyam dharmmalī līkhāpīṭṭi etam
 Devanāmpīye ābā iyam

11 dharmmalī ata athī sīlāthambhānīvā sīlaphalakanīva (d) tata katavīya ena esa
 chulātīṭṭi sīya

(a) The word *Laja* is omitted in both of these places after Piyadasi, but it is present in all the after part of the inscription wherever the king's name is mentioned

(b) Omitted by Prinsep

(c) Prinsep reads *uludhanasi*, but the word begins with the initial *o*

(d) Prinsep's last reading of this word was *dhārka* (see Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, VI, 1059), but the true reading is *phalakanī*, or "tablets," as given in the text

ALLAHABAD PILLAR

SEPARATI EDICTS

No. 1.

Queen's Edict

- 1 Devânampiyasâ vachanena savata mahamattâ
 2 vataviyâ chetv dutiyâye Deviyô dane
 3 Ambivadikâ vâ âlameva dânam chetv(²)etav(²) anne(²)
 4 Kichhuganiya titâyô Deviyô saninî pi vatth(r)
 5 dutiyâye Deviycti tî valamutu lâlulavakye

No 2

Kosambi Edict

- 1 Devânampiyô ânapiyatî Kosambiyamahiṃsata
 2 marî * * sanghasî nîla hîyo
 3 I tî bhîti * bhantî nîta chî
 4 ba pînam dhapayita a * ta * va va vyî

SANCHI PILLAR

- 1 J P * * * * * * * * mîga * *
 A. C * vā 1 2 3 4 5 6 mîga * *
 2 J P
 A. C * senî * bhî * * nam chîti petaviyā
 3 J P
 A. C * vîka Chandagiriye * keye sangham
 4 J P bhakkhatî bhikkhubbhî khamavase datî
 A. C bhakkhatî Bhikkhu chā Bhikkhunî yî khu datî
 5 J P
 A. C nidusapî svam * priyâ ann *
 6 J P Sasijala petaviyô ichchahume (idî)
 A. C sasi vîsa petaviyô . ichchanî me san —
 7 J P —sî sampesimato chulathitike sîyatî
 A. C —tî sanghasamago chulathitike sîyâtî

TRANSLATIONS.

ROCK INSCRIPTIONS.

EDICT I

Prinsep

Wilson

“The following edict of religion is promulgated by the heaven-beloved king *Piyadasi*

“ ‘In this place the putting to death of anything whatever that hath life, either for the benefit of the puja, or in convivial meetings, shall not be done. Much cruelty of this nature occurs in such assemblies. The heaven-beloved king *Piyadasi* is (as it were) a father (to his people). Uniformity of worship is wise and proper for the congregation of the heaven-beloved *Piyadasi* Raja.

“ ‘Formerly, in the great refectory and temple of the heaven-beloved king *Piyadasi*, daily were many hundred thousand animals sacrificed for the sake of meat food. So even at this day while this religious edict is under promulgation, from the sacrifice of animals for the sake of food, some two are killed, or one is killed, but now the joyful chorus resounds again and again—that henceforward not a single animal shall be put to death.’ ”

“This is the edict of the beloved of the gods Raja *Piyadasi*

“ ‘The putting to death of animals is to be entirely discontinued, and no convivial meeting is to be held, for the beloved of the gods, the Raja *Piyadasi*, remarks many faults in such assemblies. There is but one assembly, indeed, which is approved of by the Raja *Piyadasi*, the beloved of the gods, which is that of the great kitchen of Raja *Piyadasi*, the beloved of the gods. Every day hundreds of thousands of animals have been there slaughtered for virtuous purposes, but now, although this pious edict is proclaimed that animals may be killed for good purposes, and such is the practice, yet as the practice is not determined, these presents are proclaimed that hereafter they shall not be killed.’ ”

EDICT II.

Prinsep

Wilson

“Every where within the conquered province of Raja *Piyadasi*, the beloved of the gods, as well as in the parts occupied by the faithful, such as *Chola*, *Pida*,^{*} *Satyaputra*, and *Ketalaputra*, even as far as *Tambapanni* (Ceylon), and, moreover, within the dominions of ANTIOCHUS, the *Greek*

“In all the subjugated (territories) of the king *Piyadasi*, the beloved of the gods, and also in the bordering countries, as (*Choda*), *Palaya* * (or *Paraya*), *Satyaputra*, *Keralaputra*, *Tambapanni*, (it is proclaimed), and ANTIOCHUS by name the *Yona* (or *Yavana*) raja, and those princes

* The true readings of these important names of the countries bordering on the dominions of Asoka are as follows: *Choda*, *Pandya*, *Satyaputra*, *Ketalaputra*, and *Tambapanni*. The first two are well known as *Chola* and *Pandya*, being the extreme southern provinces of India, while *Tambapanni* is the Island of Ceylon, the Taprobane of the Greeks. *Ketalaputra* is the district of *Kerala*, on the western coast between the Krishna River and Mysore. No representative of *Satyaputra* has yet been proposed except by Lassen, who considered it as the Buddhist name of the King of *Pida* (or *Pandya*). But it seems to me that this name is capable of the same exact identification as the others. In Ptolemy's map we have the name of *Sadimi*, a people on the coast to the west of *Baithana*, or *Paithan* on the Godavari. They are said to be pirates, and as the name of the *Andri Pirate* is also found in the same place, I believe that we have the same people designated by two different names—first, as *SADIMI*, or *Sadavahans* or *Satalakarnis*, and second, as *ANDRI* or *Andhras*. That the *Andhras* were a powerful nation in the time of Asoka, I have already established by reading their name in 13th Edict of the Shahbazgarhi and Khalsi texts. The name of *Satalakarni* is written *Sadardhana* in one of the Nasik Inscriptions (West No 6), and Ptolemy's form would be obtained by the elision of the *l* in *Sadalan*. Another form of the name is preserved in the Periplus as *Saraganos*, in which, according to a common Indian practice, the *t* and *d* are changed to *r* in pronunciation.

Prinsep

(of which Antiochus' generals are the rulers), everywhere the heaven-beloved Raja *Priyadasī*'s double system of medical aid is established—both medical aid for men, and medical aid for animals, together with the medicaments of all sorts, which are suitable for men, and suitable for animals. And wherever there is not (such provision), in all such places they are to be prepared, and to be planted both root-drugs and herbs, wheresoever there is not (a provision of them), in all such places shall they be deposited and planted.

“And in the public highways wells are to be dug, and trees to be planted, for the accommodation of men and animals.”

Wilson

who are nearer to (or allied with) that monarch, universally (are apprised) that (two designs have been cherished by *Priyadasī*, one design) regarding men, and one relating to animals, and whatever herbs are useful to men or useful to animals wherever there are none, such have been everywhere caused to be conveyed and planted, (and roots and fruits wherever there are none, such have been everywhere conveyed and planted, and on the roads) wells have been caused to be dug, (and trees have been planted) for the respective enjoyment of animals and men.”

EDICT III

Prinsep

“Thus spake the heaven-beloved king *Priyadasī*. ‘By me, after the twelfth year of my anointment, this commandment is made. Everywhere in the conquered (provinces) among the faithful, whether (my own) subjects or foreigners, after every five years, let there be (a public) humiliation for this express object, yea, for the confirmation of virtue and for the suppression of disgraceful acts.

“‘Good and proper is dutiful service to mother and father, towards friends and kinsfolks, towards Brahmans and Sramans, excellent is charity—prodigality and malicious slander are not good.

“‘All this the leader of the congregation shall inculcate to the assembly, with (appropriate) explanation and example.”

Wilson

“King *Priyadasī* says ‘This was ordered by me when I had been twelve years inaugurated. In the conquered country, and among my own subjects as well as strangers, that every five years expiation should be undergone with this object, for the enforcement of such moral obligations as were declared by me to be good such as duty to parents, (and protection of) friends and children, (relations,) Brahmans and Sramans—good is liberality, good is non-injury of living creatures, and abstinence from prodigality and slander are good. Continuance in this course (the discharge of these duties) shall be commanded both by explanation and by example.”

EDICT IV

Prinsep

“‘In times past, even for many hundred years, has been practised the sacrifice of living beings, the slaughter of animals, disregard of relations, and disrespect towards Brahmans and Sramans.

“‘This day, by the messenger of the religion of the heaven-beloved king *Priyadasī*, (has been made) a proclamation by beat of drum, a grand announcement of religious grace, and a display of equipages, and a parade of elephants, and things to gratify the senses, and every other kind of heavenly object for the adoration of mankind, such as had never been for many hundred years, such as were to-day exhibited.

Wilson

“‘During a past period of many centuries, there have prevailed—destruction of life, injury of living beings, disrespect towards kindred, and irreverence towards Sramans and Brahmans. But now, in conformity to moral duty, the pious proclamation of king *Priyadasī*, the beloved of the gods, is made by beat of drum, in a manner never before performed for hundreds of years, with chariot and elephant processions, and fireworks and other divine displays of the people exhibiting the ceremonies (and this) for the promulgation of the law of king *Priyadasī*, &c, that non-destruction of life, non-

*Prinsep**Wilson*

" 'By the *religious ordinance* of the heaven-beloved king *Piyadasi*, the non-sacrifice of animals, the non-destruction of living beings, proper regard to kindred, respect to Brahmins and Sramans, dutiful service to spiritual pastors—through these and many other similar (good acts) doth *religious grace* abound, and thus, moreover, shall the heaven-beloved king *Piyadasi* cause religion to flourish, and the same shall the sons, the grandsons, and the great-grandsons of the heaven-beloved king *Piyadasi* cause to abound exceedingly

" 'As long as the mountains shall endure, so long in virtue and in strict observances shall the religion stand fast. And through good acts of this nature, that is to say, through these ordinances and the strict practice of religion, laxness of discipline is obviated. Moreover in this object, it is proper to be intelligent, and no wise neglected. For the same purpose is this (edict) ordered to be written. Let all take heed to profit of this good object, and not to give utterance to objections'

"By the heaven-beloved king *Piyadasi*, after the twelfth year of his announcement, is this caused to be written"

injury to living beings, respect to relations, reverence of Brahmins and Sramans, and many other duties, do increase, and shall increase, and this moral law of the king *Piyadasi* the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of king *Piyadasi* shall maintain. Let the moral ordinance of king *Piyadasi* be stable as a mountain for the establishment of duty, for in these actions duty will be followed, as the law which directs ceremonial rites is not the observance of moral duties. It were well for every ill-conducted person to be attentive to the object of this injunction. This is the edict (writing) of king *Piyadasi*. Let not any thought be entertained by the subject-people of opposing the edict'. This has been caused to be written by the king *Piyadasi*, in the twelfth year of his inauguration"

Burnouf has also given a full translation of this edict, which I annex *

" 'Dans le temps passé, pendant de nombreuses centaines d'années, on vit prospérer uniquement le meurtre des êtres vivants et la méchanceté à l'égard des créatures, le manque de respect pour les parents, le manque de respect pour les Bâhmanas et les Samanas (les Brahmanes et les grammans). Aussi, en ce jour, parce que *Piyadasi*, le Roi chéri des Dévas, pratique la loi, le son de tambour (a retenti), oui, la voix de la loi (s'est fait entendre) après que des promenades des chars de parade, des promenades d'éléphants, des feux d'artifice, ainsi que d'autres représentations divines ont été montrées aux regards du peuple. Ce que depuis bien des centaines d'années on n'avait pas vu auparavant, on l'a vu prospérer aujourd'hui, par suite de l'ordre que donne *Piyadasi*, le Roi chéri des Dévas, de pratiquer la loi. La cessation du meurtre des êtres vivants et des actes de méchanceté à l'égard des créatures, le respect pour les parents, l'obéissance aux père et mère, l'obéissance aux anciens (*Thera*), voilà les vertus, ainsi que d'autres pratiques de la loi de diverses espèces, qui ici sont accrues. Et *Piyadasi*, le Roi chéri des Dévas, fera croître encore cette observation de la loi, et les fils, et les petits-fils, et les arrière-petits-fils de *Piyadasi*, le Roi chéri des Dévas, feront croître cette observation de la loi jusqu'au *Kalpa* de la destruction. Fermes dans la loi, dans la morale, ils ordonneront l'observation de la loi, car c'est la meilleure des actions que d'en joindre l'observation de la loi. Cette observation même de la loi n'existe pas pour celui qui n'a pas de morale. Il est bon que cet objet prospère et ne dépérisse pas. c'est pour cela qu'on a fait écrire cet édit. Si cet objet s'accroît, on n'en devra jamais voir le dépérissement'. *Piyadasi*, le Roi chéri des Dévas, a fait écrire cet édit, la douzième année depuis son sacre"†

* Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi—Appendice, p 731

† Burnouf's remarks in justification of his own translation and reading of the text are much too long to be quoted here. See Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi, Appendice, p 731. He very naturally takes exception to Wilson's explanation of *Bâhmanas* and *Samanas* as "Brahmins and (Brahminical) ascetics," and shows that these two terms are intended to designate two classes of persons, the Brahmins and the Buddhists, in the same way that they are discriminated in the legends of the Divya Avadāna.

EDICT V

Princp.

"Thus spake the heaven-beloved king *Piyadasi* —

"Prosperity (cometh) through adversity, and truly each man (to obtain) prosperity causeth himself present difficulty, therefore by me (nevertheless) has much prosperity been brought about, and therefore shall my sons and grandsons, and my latest posterity, as long as the very hills endure, pursue the same conduct, and so shall each meet his reward! While he, on the other hand, who shall neglect such conduct, shall meet his punishment in the midst of the wicked (in the nethermost regions of hell)

"For a very long period of time there have been no ministers of religion appointed, who intermingling among all unbelievers (may overwhelm them) with the inundation of religion, and with the abundance of the sacred doctrines. Through Kam (bochar, Gan) dhara, Narastika,* Petenika, and elsewhere, finding their way unto the uttermost limits of the barbarian countries, for the benefit and pleasure of (all classes)

and for restraining the passions of the faithful, and for the regeneration of those bound in the fetters (of sin) (?) are they appointed. Intermingling equilly among the drevded, and among the respected both in Pataliputa and in foreign places, teaching better things, shall they everywhere penetrate, so that they even who (oppose the faith shall at length become) ministers of it."

Princp.

"Thus spake *Piyadasi*, the heaven-beloved king —

"Never was there in any former period a system of instruction applicable to every season, and to every action, such as that which is now established by me

"For every season, for behaviour during meals, during repose, in domestic relations, in the nursery, in conversation, in general deportment, and on the bed of death—everywhere instructors (or Pativedakas) have been appointed. Accordingly do ye (instructors) deliver instruction in what concerneth my people

Watson

"The beloved of the gods, king *Piyadasi*, thus proclaims: 'Whoever perverts good to evil will derive evil from good, therefore much good has been done by me, and my sons and grandsons, and others my posterity, (will) conform to it for every age. So they who shall enjoy happiness, and those who cease the path to be abandoned shall suffer misfortune. The chief ministers of morality have for an unprecedentedly long time been tolerant of iniquity, therefore in the tenth year of the inauguration have ministers of morality been made, who are appointed for the purpose of preading over morals among persons of all the religions for the sake of the augmentation of virtue, and for the happiness of the virtuous among the people of Kamboja, Gandhara, Narastika, and Ptenika. They shall also be spread among the warriors, the Brahmins, the mendicants, the destitute, and others, without any obstruction, for the happiness of the well disposed, in order to loosen the bonds of those who are bound, and liberate those who are confined, through the means of holy wisdom disseminated by pious teachers, and they will proceed to the outer cities and fastnesses of my brother and sister, and wherever are any other of my hundred and the ministers of morals, those who are appointed as superintendents of morals, shall, wherever the moral law is established, give encouragement to the charitable and those addicted to virtue. With this intent this edict is written, and let my people obey it.'"

EDICT VI

Watson

"The beloved of the gods, king *Piyadasi*, thus declares: 'An unprecedentedly long time has past since it has been the custom at all times, and in all affairs, to submit representations. Now it is established by me that, whether at meals, in my palace, in the interior apartments, in discourse, in exchange of civility, in gardens, the officers appointed to make reports shall convey to me the objects of the people. I will always attend to the objects of the people, and whatever I declare verbally, whether punishment or reward, is further intrusted to the supervisors of morals (or eminent persons)

* The *na* belongs to the preceding name *Gandharanam*, and the word thus becomes *Rastika*, which is a well known name of Surashtra

Prinsep

“‘And everywhere in what concerneth my people do I myself perform whatsoever with my mouth I enjoin (unto them), whether it be by me (esteemed) disagreeable, or whether agreeable. Moreover, for their better welfare, among them an awardee of punishment is duly installed. On this account, assembling together those who are dwelling in the reputation of much wisdom, do ye, meanwhile, instruct them as to the substance of what is hereby ordained by me for all circumstances, and for all seasons. This is not done by me in any desire for the collection of worldly gain, but in the real intention that the benefit of my people shall be effected, whereof, moreover, this is the root, the good foundation, and the steady repose in all circumstances. There is not a more effectual mode of benefiting all mankind than this on which I bestow my whole labour.”

“‘But upon how many living beings (I will pass over the mention of other things) do I confer happiness here—hereafter, likewise, let them hope ardently for heaven!—Amen!”

“‘For this reason has the present religious edict been written. May it endure for evermore, and so may my sons, and my grandsons, and my great-grandsons uphold the same for the profit of all the world, and labour therein with the most reverential exertion!’”

Wilson

for that purpose let those who reside in the immediate vicinage even become informers at all times, and in all places, so it is ordained by me. The distribution of wealth which is to be made is designed by me for the benefit of all the world, for the distribution of wealth is the root of virtues to the good of the world, for which I am always labouring. On the many beings over whom I rule I confer happiness in this world,—in the next they may obtain Swarga. With this view, this moral edict has been written. May it long endure, and may my sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons after me continue with still greater exertion to labour for universal good!’”

EDICT VII

Prinsep

“The heaven-beloved king *Piyadasi* everywhere ardently desireth that all unbelievers may be brought to repentance and peace of mind. He is anxious that every diversity of opinion, and every diversity of passion, may shine forth blended into one system, and be conspicuous in undistinguishing charity. Unto no one can be repentance and peace of mind until he hath attained supreme knowledge, perfect faith which surmounteth all obstacles, and perpetual assent.”

Wilson

“The beloved of the gods, the Raja *Piyadasi*, desires that all unbelievers may everywhere dwell (unmolested), as they also wish for moral restraint and purity of disposition. For men are of various purposes and various desires, and they do injury to all or only to a part. Although, however, there should not be moral restraint or purity of disposition in any one, yet wherever there is great liberality (or charity), gratitude will acknowledge merit even in those who were before that reputed vile.”

The following is Burnouf's translation of this Edict* —

“*Piyadasi*, le roi cheri des Dêvas, désire en tous lieux que les ascètes de toutes les croyances résident (tranquilles) ils désirent tous l'empire qu'on exerce sur soi-même, et la pureté de l'âme, mais le peuple a des opinions diverses et des attachements divers, (et) les ascètes obtiennent, soit tout, soit une partie seulement (de ce qu'ils demandent). Cependant, pour celui-même auquel n'arrive pas une large aumône l'empire sur soi-même, la pureté de l'âme, la reconnaissance et une dévotion solide qui dure toujours, cela est bien.”

* Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi, Appendice, p. 755

EDICT VIII

Prinsep

Wilson

"In ancient times, festivals for the amusement of sovereigns consisted of gambling, hunting the deer (or antelope), and other exhilarating pleasures of the same nature. But the heaven-beloved king *Piyadasi*, having attained the tenth year of his anointment, for the happiness of the wise, hath a festival of religion (been substituted) and this same consists in visits to Brahmans and Sramans, and in alms-giving, and in visits to the reverend and aged, and the liberal distribution of gold, the contemplation of the universe and its inhabitants, obeying the precepts of religion, and setting religion before all other things, are the expedients (he employs for amusement), and these will become an enjoyment without alloy to the heaven-beloved king *Piyadasi* in another existence."

"In past times kings were addicted to travelling about, to companions, to going abroad, to hunting and similar amusements, but *Piyadasi*, the beloved of the gods, having been ten years inaugurated, by him easily awakened, that moral festival is adopted, (which consists) in seeing and bestowing gifts on Brahmans and Sramans, in seeing and giving gold to elders, and overseeing the country and the people, the institution of moral laws, and the investigation of morals—such are the devices for the removal of apprehension, and such are the different pursuits of the favourite of the gods, king *Piyadasi*."

Burnouf has not given a connected translation of this Edict, but his remarks on its general scope are of special importance. According to his explanation Asoka obtained *sambodhim*, or "la science complète de la Bodhi," or, in other words, "la connaissance de ce qu'enseigne le Buddha," after he had reigned ten years. He refers to Lassen as evidently holding the same opinion. "Quoique Lassen n'a pas traduit littéralement cette partie de votre inscription, il est facile de voir, par l'usage qu'il en a fait dans ses *Antiquités Indiennes*, qu'il entend comme je propose de le faire. Voici les propres paroles de Lassen: 'C'est seulement la dixième année depuis son couronnement qu'il obtint la vue complète. Evidemment Lassen a lu comme moi *sambodhim*, 'la vue ou la science complète,' et compris de même *ayāya*.'"*

EDICT IX

Prinsep

Wilson

"Thus spake King *Piyadasi*, beloved of the gods
 "Each individual seeketh his own happiness in a diversity of ways, in the bonds of affection, in marriage, or otherwise, in the rearing of offspring, in foreign travel in these, and other similar objects, doth man provide happiness of every degree. But there is great ruination—excesses of all kinds when (a man) maketh worldly objects his happiness. On the contrary, this is what is to be done,—(for most certainly that species of happiness is a fruitless happiness—) to obtain the happiness which yieldeth plentiful fruit, even the happiness of virtue, that is to say kindness to dependants, reverence to spiritual teachers, are proper, humanity to animals is proper—all these acts, and others of the same kind, are to be rightly denominated the happiness of virtue."

"By father and by son, and by brother, by master, (and by servant) it is proper that these

"The beloved of the gods *Piyadasi Raja*, thus says: 'Every man that celebrates various occasions of festivity, as on the removal of incumbrances, on invitations, on marriages, on the birth of a son, or on setting forth on a journey—on these and other occasions a man makes various rejoicings. The benevolent man also celebrates many and various kinds of pure and disinterested festivities,—and such rejoicing is to be practised. Such festivities are fruitless and vain, but the festivity that bears great fruit is the festival of duty—such as the respect of the servant to his master, reverence for holy teachers is good, tenderness for living creatures is good, liberality to Brahmans and Sramans is good. These, and other such acts, constitute verily the festival of duty, and it is to be cherished as father by son, a dependant by his master. This is good, this is the festival to be observed for the establishment of this

* Burnouf, *Le Lotus*, Appendice, p. 759, quoting Lassen *Ind. Alterthum*, II, 227, n. 3

Prinsep.

things should be entitled happiness, and further, for the more complete attainment of this object, secret charity is most suitable —yea, there is no alms, and no loving-kindness, comparable with the alms of religion, and the loving-kindness of religion, which ought verily to be upheld alike by the friend, by the good-hearted, by kinsman and neighbour, in the entire fulfilment of pleasing duties

“ ‘This is what is to be done —this is what is good With those things let each man propitiate heaven And how much ought (not) to be done in order to the propitiation of heaven?’ ”

Wilson

object virtuous donations are made, for there is no such donation or benevolence as the gift of duty, or the benevolence of duty that (benevolence) is chaff (which is contracted) with a friend, a companion, a kinsman, or an associate, and is to be reprehended In such and in such manner this is to be done Thus is good with these means let a man seek Swarga This is to be done by these means it is to be done, as by them Swarga has been gained ’ ”

EDICT X

Prinsep

“The heaven-beloved king *Piyadasi* doth not deem that glory and reputation (are) the things of chief importance, on the contrary, (only for the prevention of sin,) and for enforcing conformity among a people praiseworthy for following the four rules of virtue, and pious, doth the heaven-beloved king *Piyadasi* desire glory and reputation in this world, and whatsoever the heaven-beloved king *Piyadasi* chiefly displayeth heroism in obtaining, that is all (connected with) the other world

“For in every thing connected with his immortality, there is, as regards mortal things in general, discredit Let this be discriminated with encouragement or with abandonment, with honor or with the most respectful force, and every difficulty connected with futurity shall, with equal reverence, be vanquished ”

Wilson

“The beloved of the gods, the Prince *Piyadasi*, does not esteem glory and fame as of great value, and, besides, for a long time it has been my fame and that of my people, that the observance of moral duty, and the service of the virtuous, should be practised for this is to be done This is the fame that the beloved of the gods desires and inasmuch as the beloved of the gods excels, (he holds) all such reputations as no real reputation, but such as may be that of the unrighteous—prun and chaff, for it may be acquired by crafty and unworthy persons, and by whatever further effort it is acquired, it is worthless and a source of pain ”

Burnouf, after quoting the above translations by Prinsep and Wilson, gives his own translation as follows *

“*Piyadasi*, le roi chéri des Dêvas, ne pense pas que la gloire ni la renommée produisent de grands avantages, sauf la gloire (qu’il désire) pour lui-même, savoir que mes peuples pratiquent longtemps l’obéissance à la loi et qu’ils observent la règle de la loi C’est pour cela seulement que *Piyadasi*, le roi chéri des Dêvas, désire gloire et renommée Car tout ce que *Piyadasi*, le roi chéri des Dêvas, déploie d’heroïsme, c’est en vue de l’autre vie Bien plus, toute gloire ne donne que peu de profit, ce qui en résulte, au contraire, c’est l’absence de vertu Toutefois c’est en effet une chose difficile (que le travail pour le ciel) pour un homme médiocre comme pour un homme élevé, si ce n’est quand, par une heroïsme suprême, on a tout abandonné, mais cela est certainement difficile pour un homme élevé ”

EDICT XI

Prinsep

“Thus spake *Piyadasi*, the king, beloved of the gods —

“There is no such charity as the charity which springeth from virtue,—(which is) the intimate knowledge of virtue, the inheritance of virtue, the close union with virtue. And in these maxims it is manifested—kindness towards servants and huelings towards mother and father dutiful service is proper towards a friend’s offspring, to kindred in general, to Brahmins and Sramans almsgiving is proper avoiding the destruction of animals’ life is proper

“And this (saying) should be equally repeated by father and son, (?) by hueling, and even so by neighbours in general

“This is excellent —and this is what ought to be done!

“And whoso doeth thus is blessed of the inhabitants of this world and in the next world endless moral merit resulteth from such religious charity.”

Wilson

“Thus says the beloved of the gods, king *Piyadasi*. ‘There is no gift like the gift of virtue, whether it be the praise of virtue, the apportionment of virtue, or relationship of virtue. This (gift) is, the cherishing of slaves and dependants, pious devotion to mother and father, generous gifts to friends and kinsmen, Brahmins and Sramans, and non-injury of living beings is good. In this manner, it is to be lived by father and son, and brother, and friend, and friend’s friend (?), and by a master (of slaves), and by neighbours. This is good: this is to be practised, and thus having acted, there is happiness in worldly existence, and hereafter great holiness is obtained by this gift of virtue.’”

EDICT XII.

Prinsep

“The heaven-beloved king *Piyadasi* propitiateth all unbelievers, both of the ascetic and of the domestic classes by charitable offerings, and by every species of *puya* doth he (strive to) propitiate them. Not that the beloved of the gods deemeth offerings or prayers to be of the same (value) with true glory. The promotion of his own salvation promoted, in many ways, the salvation of all unbelievers, of which, indeed, this is the root, and the whole substance.

“Again, the propitiation of the converted heretic, and the reproof of the unconverted heretic, must not be (effected) by harsh treatment—but let those who enter into discussion (conciliate them) by restraint of their own passions, and by then mild address. By such and such conciliatory demeanours shall even the unconverted heretics be propitiated. And such conduct increaseth the number of converted heretics, while it disposeth of the unconverted heretic, and effecteth a revolution of opinion in him. And (he) encourageth the converted heretic, while he disposeth completely of the unconverted heretic, whosoever propitiateth the converted heretic, or reproveth the unconverted heretic, by the pecuniary support of the converted heretic. And who so, again, doth so, he purifieth in the most

Wilson

“The beloved of the gods, king *Piyadasi*, honours all forms of religious faith, whether professed by ascetics or householders, he honours them with gifts and with manifold kinds of reverence but the beloved of the gods considers no gift or honour so much as the increase of the substance (of religion)—his encouragement of the increase of the substance of all religious belief is manifold. But the root of his (encouragement) is this—reverence for one’s own faith, and no reviling nor injury of that of others. Let the reverence be shown in such and such a manner as is suited to the difference of belief, as when it is done in that manner, it augments our own faith, and benefits that of others. Whoever acts otherwise injures his own religion, and wrongs that of others, for he who in some way honours his own religion, and reviles that of others, saying, having extended to all our own belief, let us make it famous,—he who does this throws difficulties in the way of his own religion: this, his conduct, cannot be right. The duty of a person consists in respect and service of others. Such is the wish of the beloved of the gods, for in all forms of religion there may be many scriptures (*Sutras*), and many holy texts, which are to be

Prinsep

effectual manner the heretic,—and of himself such in act is his very breath, and his well-being

“Moreover, ‘hear ye the religion of the faithful, and attend thereto’ even such is the desire, the act, the hope of the beloved of the gods, that all unbelievers may speedily be purified, and brought into contentment speedily

“Furthermore, from place to place this most gracious sentiment should be repeated ‘The beloved of the gods doth not esteem either charitable offering or *pūṇa*, as comparable with true glory The increase of blessing to himself is (of) as much (importance) to all unbelievers’

“For this purpose, have been spread abroad ministers of religion, possessing fortitude of mind, and practices of every virtue May the various congregations co-operate (with them) for the accomplishment thereof! For the increase of converts is, indeed, the lustre of religion”

This Edict has been fortunate in attracting the attention of Burnouf, whose translation here follows *

“*Piyadasi*, le roi chéri des Dêvas, honore tous les croyances, ainsi que les mendiants et les maîtres de maison, soit par des aumônes, soit par des diverses marques de respect Mais le roi chéri des Dêvas honore tous les croyances, ainsi que les mendiants et les maîtres de maison, soit par des aumônes, soit par des diverses marques de respect Mais le roi chéri des Dêvas n’estime pas autant les aumônes et les marques de respect que l’augmentation de ce qui est l’essence de la renommée Or, l’augmentation de ce qui est essentiel [en ce genre] pour toutes les croyances est de plusieurs espèces cependant le fonds en est pour chacune d’elles la louange en paroles Il y a plus on doit seulement honorer sa propre croyance, mais non blâmer celle des autres il y aura ainsi peu le tort de produit Il y a même telle et telle circonstance où la croyance des autres doit aussi être honorée, en agissant ainsi selon chacun de ces circonstances, on augmente sa propre croyance et on sert celle des autres Celui qui agit autrement diminue sa propre croyance et fait tort aussi à celle des autres L’homme, quelqu’il soit, qui honore sa propre croyance et blâme celle des autres, le tout par dévotion pour sa croyance, et bien plus, en disant ‘Mettons notre propre croyance en lumière’ L’homme, dis-je, qui agit ainsi, ne fait que nuire plus gravement à sa croyance propre C’est pourquoi le bon accord seul est bien Il y a plus, que les hommes écoutent et suivent avec soumission chacun la loi les uns des autres, car tel est le désir du roi chéri des Dêvas Il y a plus puissent [les hommes de] toutes les croyances abonder en sagesse et prospérer en vertu! Et ceux qui ont foi à telle et telle religion, doivent répéter ceci Le roi chéri des Dêvas n’estime pas autant les aumônes et les marques de respect que l’augmentation de ce qui est l’essence de la renommée et la multiplication de toutes les croyances A cet effet ont été établis des grands ministres de la loi et des grands ministres surveillants des femmes, ainsi que des inspecteurs des lieux secrets, et d’autres corps d’agents Et le fruit de cette institution, c’est que l’augmentation des religions ait promptement lieu, ainsi que la mise en lumière de la loi”

Wilson

thereafter followed through my protection The beloved of the gods considers no gift or reverence to be equal to the increase of the essence of religion and as this is the object of all religions,—with a view to its dissemination, superintendents of moral duty, as well as over women, and officers of compassion, as well as other officers, (are appointed), and the fruit of this (regulation) will be the augmentation of our own faith, and the lustre of moral duty”

EDICT XIII

Prinsep

“Whose equality, and exertion towards that object, exceeding activity, judicious conduct . afterwards in the Kalinga provinces not to be obtained by wealth the decline of religion,

Prinsep

murder, and death, and unrestrained license of mankind, when flourished the (precious maxims) of Devānampiyō, comprising the essence of learning and of science — dutiful service to mother and father, dutiful service to spiritual teachers the love of friend and child, (charity) to kinsfolk, to servants (to Brahmans and Sāmāns, &c., which) cleanse away the calamities of generations further also in these things unceasing perseverance is fame. There is not in either class of the heretics of men, not so to say, a procedure marked by such grace, . . . nor so glorious nor friendly, nor even so extremely liberal as Devānampiyō's injunctions for the non-injury, and content of living creatures . . . and the Greek King besides, by whom the Kings of Egypt, Ptolemaios and Antigonos, (?) and Magas, . . . both here and in foreign (countries), everywhere the religious ordinances of Devānampiyō effect conversion, wherever they go, . . . conquest is of every description but further the conquest which bringeth joy springing from pleasant emotions, becometh joy itself, the victory of virtue is happiness the victory of happiness is not to be overcome, that which essentially possesses a pledge of happiness, . . . such victory is desired in things of this world and things of the next world!

"And this place is named the WHITE ELEPHANT, conferring pleasure on all the world" *

Prinsep

EDICT XIV

Bernouff †

"This religious edict is caused to be written by the heaven-beloved king Piyadasi. It is (partly) (written) with abridgment, it is (partly) with ordinary extent, and it is (partly) with amplification not incoherent (or disjointed) but throughout continuous (and united) it is powerful in overcoming the wise, and it is much written and caused to be written, yet it is always but the same thing repeated over and over again.

"For the persuasive eloquence which is lavished on each separate subject shall man the rather render obedience thereunto!

"Furthermore, at one time even unto the conclusion is thus written, incomprisable in manner, and conformable with the copy, by Relachepu the scribe and pandit "

"Ce texte de la loi a été écrit par l'ordre de Piyadasi, le roi cheri des Devas. Il se trouve sous une forme abrégée, il se trouve sous une forme de moyenne étendue, il se trouve enfin sous une forme développée et cependant le tout n'est certainement pas mutilé. Des grands hommes aussi ont fait des conquêtes, et ont beaucoup écrit, et moi je ferai aussi écrire ceci. Et s'il y a ici aut int de répétitions, c'est à cause de la douceur de chacune des pensées qui sont répétées. Il y a plus! puisse le peuple y conformer sa conduite! Tout ce qui peut, en quelques endroits, avoir été écrit sans être achevé, sans ordre, et sans qu'on ait un égard au texte qui fut autorité, tout cela vient uniquement de la faute de l'écrivain."

* This last sentence should follow Edict XIV. Professor Kern translates it differently—"the White Elephant whose name is "Bringer of happiness to the whole world," and adds "that by this term *Sakya* is implied there can be no doubt, since the legend says that the Bodhisattva, the future Buddha, left heaven to bring happiness to men, and entered his mother's womb as a White Elephant." See *Indian Antiquary*, V, 257, 258.

† As no translation of this Edict has been given by Wilson it is fortunate that we possess another version from the learned and careful pen of Bernouff in *Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, p. 752.

TRANSLATIONS.

No 6

DHAULI AND JAUGADA.

No 1 SEPARATE EDICT

Puinsep

Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, VII, 442

“By command of Devánampiya (the beloved of the gods) ! In (the city of) Tosali, the public officers in charge of the town are to be enjoined (as follows) —

“Whomsoever I ascertain to be a murderer, him do I desire to be imprisoned. This I publicly proclaim, and I will carry into effect however difficult —for this my supreme will is irresistible ! On this account the present *Tope* (Stupa) is denominated the tope of commandment

“From amongst many thousand souls, oh ye my chosen people ! repair ye (hither) to the holy men. Every righteous man is my (true) subject, and for my subjects I desire this only, that they may be possessed of every benefit and happiness as to things of this world and of the world beyond and furthermore I desire ye do not purify the wicked until

“In this country and not anywhere else is to be seen such a stupa (?) in which is provided proper rules of moral conduct

“When one man relieves (his fellow-creature) from the bondage and misery (of sin), it necessarily follows that he himself is released from bondage, but again despairing at the number of human beings in the same state (whom he is unable to relieve) he is much troubled.

Thence is this stupa so desirable (as an asylum), that in the midst of virtuous regulations we may pursue our obedient course !

And through these classes (of deeds) are people rendered disobedient, *viz.*, by enviousness, by the

Burnouf

Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi, 672 683

“Au nom du (roi) chéri des Dévas, le grand ministre de Tosali, gouverneur de la ville, doit s'entendre dire. Quoique ce soit que je décrète, je désire qu'il en soit l'exécuteur. Voilà ce que je lui fait connaître, et je recommence deux fois, parce que cette répétition est regardée par moi comme capitale. C'est dans ce dessein que ce *Tupha* (*Stûpa*) a été dressé, ce *Stûpa* de commandement en effet a été destiné aujourd'hui à de nombreux milliers d'êtres vivants, comme un présent et un bouquet de fleurs pour les gens de bien. Tout homme de bien est pour moi un fils. Et pour mes fils, ce que je désire, c'est qu'ils soient en possession de toute espèce d'avantages, et de plaisirs, tant dans ce monde que dans l'autre. Ainsi je désire le bonheur du peuple, et puissiez-vous ne pas éprouver de malheur, jusqu'à (lacune de 10 lettres) un seul homme pense. En effet, ce *Stûpa* regarde ce pays tout entier qui nous est soumis, sur ce *Stûpa* a été promulguée la règle morale. Que si un homme (4 lettres) est soumis soit à la captivité, soit à de mauvais traitements, à partir de ce moment (il sera délivré) à l'instant par lui de cette captivité et des autres (2 lettres). Beaucoup de gens du pays souffrent dans l'esclavage, c'est pourquoi ce *Stûpa* a dû être désiré. Puissions-nous, me suis-je dit, (leur) faire obtenir la liqueur enivrante de la morale ! Mais la morale n'est pas respectée par ces espèces (de vices) l'envie, la destruction de la vie, les injures, la violence, l'absence d'occupation, la paresse,

Burnouf

Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, VII, 412

practice of destroying life, by tyranny, by cruelty, by idleness, by laziness, by waste of time. That morality is to be desired which is based on my ordinances (?) and in all these the roots (or leading principles) are,—the non-destruction of life, and the non-infliction of cruelty. May the desire of such moral guidance endure unto the end of time! and may these (principles) continuing to rise (in estimation) ever flourish, and in as much as this benefit and love should be ever had in remembrance, my desire is that in this very manner, these (ordinances) shall be pronounced aloud by the person appointed to the Stupa, and adverting to nothing else but precisely according to the commandment of Devānampiyā, let him (further) declare and explain them :

“Much longing after the things of (this life) is a disobedience I again declare not less so is the laborious ambition of dominion by a prince, (who would be) a propitiator of heaven. Confess and believe in God, who is the worthy object of obedience! for equal to this (belief), I declare unto you, ye shall not find such a means of propitiating heaven. Oh strive ye to obtain this inestimable treasure!

“And this edict is to be read at (the time of) the lunar mansion Tisa, at the end of the month of Bhāton it is to be made heard (even if) by a single (listener). And thus (has been founded) the Kālanā stupa for the spiritual instruction of the congregation. For this reason is this edict here inscribed, whereby the inhabitants of the town may be guided in their devotions for ages to come—and as of the people insensibly the divine knowledge and insensibly the (good works) increase so the god of passion no longer yieldeth them gratification (?)

“For this reason also I shall cause to be, every five years, a general mikhama, (or act of humiliation?) (on which occasions) the slaughter (of no animal of any kind?) shall take place. Having learnt this object, it shall be so carried into effect according to my commandment

“And the young prince of Ujein, for the same purpose, shall cause religious observance of the self-same custom and he shall not allow any transgression of this custom for the space of three years so that when . . . functionaries have admitted to initiation the penitent, then should any not leave off his (evil) practices— if even there be hundreds (in the same predicament) it shall be certainly done unto him according to the commandment of the rāja

Prinsep.

Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi 672 683

la saintissime La gloire qui doit être désirée, est que ces (3 lettres) puissent exister pour moi. Or elles ont toutes pour fondement l'absence de meurtre, et l'absence de violence. Que celui qui, désirant suivre la règle, serait dans la crainte, sorte de sa profonde détresse et prospère, l'utile et l'agréable sont les seules choses qui doivent être obtenues. Aussi est-ce là ce qui doit être proclamé par le gardien du *Stupa* qui ne regardera rien autre chose (ou bien, aussi cet édit a dû être exprimé au moyen du *Prakrita* et non dans un autre idiome). Et ainsi le veut ici le commandement du roi chéri des Dieux. J'en confie l'exécution au grand ministre. Avec de grands dessein, je fais exécuter ce qui n'a pas été mis à exécution, non en effet, cela n'est pas. L'acquisition du ciel, voilà en réalité ce qu'il est difficile d'obtenir, mais non l'acquisition de la royauté. J'honore extrêmement les *Rulers* aussi accomplis, mais (je dis) Vous n'obtiendrez pas ainsi le ciel. Efforcez-vous d'acquiescer ce trésor sans prix.

“Et cet édit doit être entendu au *Nalāla Tira* (*Nakhatra Tichy*) et à la fin du mois *Tisa* (1 lettre) au *Nalāla*, même par une seule personne il doit être entendu. Et c'est ainsi que ce *Stupa* doit être honoré jusqu'à la fin des temps pour le bien de l'Assemblée.

“C'est pour cela que cet édit a été écrit ici afin que les gouverneurs de la ville s'appliquent continuellement (5 lettres) pour le peuple une instruction incessante, instantanée aussi * * * comblant les desirs pour nous * * * voilà.

“Et pour cela, tous les cinq ans je ferai exécuter (la confession) par les ministres de la loi celui qui dissimulant ses péchés (2 lettres) celui là sera impuissant dans son effort.

“Ayant connu cet objet * * * car tel est mon commandement. Et le Prince Royal d'Uddiyani devra aussi à cause de cela exécuter (1 lettre) une cérémonie pareille et il ne devra pas laisser, passer plus de trois ans, et de même ainsi à *Takhasila* (*Taklaçila*) même. Quand (1 lettre) les grands ministres exécuteront la cérémonie de la confession, alors, sans faire abandonner son métier à aucun des gens du peuple, ils le feront pratiquer au contraire par chacun. C'est là l'ordre du roi.”

No 7

DHAULI AND JAUGADA.

No. II SEPARATE EDITION

Prinsep

Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, VII, 446

"By command of Devānampiya! It shall be signified to the prince and the great officers in the city of Tosale

"Whomsoever I ascertain to be
and this my supreme will is irresistible!
On this account is the present Stupa ..

and for my loving subjects do I ardently desire to this effect —that they may be filled with every species of blessing and happiness both as to the things of this world and the world beyond!

may be
of countless things as yet unknown

I ardently desire
they may partake! Thus hath said Devānampiya
may repose

and take pleasure, while the removal of affliction is in like manner the chief consequence of true devotion (?) Devānampiya hath also said,—fine (consisteth in) this act, to meditate with devotion on my motives, and on my deeds (of virtue) and to pray for blessings in this world and the world to come. For this purpose do I appoint another (?) Stupa by the which I cause to be respected that which is (above) directed and proclaimed and my promise is imperishable! However bitter (or hard) it shall be carried into effect by me, and consolation (will accrue to him who obeys?) by which is exceeding virtue so be it"

"Like as love itself, so is Devānampiya worthy of respect! and as the soul itself so is the unerring guidance of Devānampiya worthy of respect! and according (to the conduct of) the subject, so is the compassion of Devānampiya wherefore I myself, to accomplish his commands, will become the slave and hailing of Devānampiya. For this reason the Dubalāhi Tupha (is instituted) for undisturbed meditation, and for

Burnouf

Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi, 693 707

"Au nom du (101) chéin des Dêvas, le prince royal et le grand ministre de Tosali, gouverneur de la ville, doit s'entendre dire" p 693

"Ainsi je désire qu'ils puissent ne pas éprouver de terreur" p 695

"Qu'ils écoutent, voilà, et qu'ils se consolent, qu'ils obtiennent aussi du bonheur" p 695

"Le roi chéin des Dêvas a dit"

"Qu'ils obtiennent le bonheur en ce monde et dans l'autre" p 696

"C'est dans ce dessein que je commande, le *Stûpa* exprime mes ordres" p 696

"Conséquemment je proclame et ce qui est ordonné, et toute autre chose que cela dont il a été donné connaissance" p 697

"Et la promesse de moi, imperissable elle (est)" p 698

"Aussi une œuvre difficile doit-elle être accomplie?" p 698

"Comme un ami, ainsi est Devānampiya certainement"

(ou)

"Comme un père, ainsi est Devānampiya" p 698

"Et comme un enfant, ainsi moi (qui parle) je dois être châtié par Devānampiya" p 700

* Burnouf adopted this alternative reading of *pita* "ather" from Kittoe's copy, in preference to Prinsep's reading of *pīye*. As the *Jaugada* text has *pita* there can be no hesitation in adopting his correction.

Prinsep

Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, VII, 446

(securing every) blessing and happiness as to the concerns of this world and the world beyond and thus to the end of time (is this) *Tupha* for the propitiation of heaven "

"Accordingly strive ye to accomplish each and all of my desires For this object is this edict here inscribed, whereby (the spot) shall be caused by me to receive the name of *mahámátá swasatam*, or (place of meditation of the officiers) Let it so remain for a perpetual endowment by me and for the furtherance of religion

"And this edict shall be read aloud in the course of the month of Bhâtan (Bhâdún ?) (when the moon is) in the nakhatia (or lunar mansion) of Tisa—and, as most desirable, also it shall be repeatedly read aloud in the last month of the year, in the lunar mansion Tisa, even if one person be present, thus to the end of time to afford instruction to the congregation of the *Tupha* "

Burnouf

Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi, 693 707

"Je serai l'esclave et le serviteur à gages de Devânampiya "

p 700

"C'est pourquoi le *Stûpa* (*Le Dubalahi*) pour la consolation ainsi que pour l'avantage, et le bonheur a été, tant dans ce monde que dans l'autre "

p 702

"Et ainsi jusqu'à la fin des temps le *Stûpa* fera obtenu le ciel "

p 704

"Et cet édit a été inscrit ici dans ce dessein même que les grands ministres s'appliquent à la consolation (du peuple), et à la pratique de la loi "

p 704

"Et cet édit doit être entendu tous les quatre mois, au *Nakhata Tisa* (Nakhatia Tichya) "

p 705

"Et même dans l'intervalle, à tel moment que cela sera désigné, l'édit pourra être lu par un seul Tissa "

p 706

"C'est ainsi qu'on doit pourvoir à ce que le *Stupa* soit honoré jusqu'à la fin des temps "

p 707.

No 8

ROCK AT SAHASARAM.

Translation by DR G BUHLER

See *Indian Antiquary*, 1877, page 156

"The beloved of the gods speaketh thus [*It is more than thirty-two*] years [*and a half*] that I am a worshipper [of *Buddha*], and I have not exerted myself strenuously [*It is*] a year and more [*that I have exerted myself strenuously*] During this interval those gods that were [*held to be*] true gods in Jambudîpa have been made [*to be regarded as*] men* and false For through strenuous exertion comes this reward, and it ought not to be said to be an effect of [*my*] greatness—For even a small man who exerts himself can gain for himself great rewards in heaven Just for this purpose a sermon has been preached

"Both small ones and great ones should exert themselves, and in the end they should also obtain [*true*] knowledge And this spiritual good will increase, it will even increase exceedingly, it will increase one [*size*] and a half, at least one [*size*] and a half' And this sermon [*is*] by the DEPARTED—Two-hundred [*years*] exceeded by fifty-six, 256, have passed since, and I have caused this matter to be incised on the hills, or where those stone pillars are, there too I have caused it to be incised "

* This phrase probably alludes to the Buddhist belief that the *Devas* also have shorter or longer terms of existence

No 9

ROCK AT RUPNATH.

Translation by DR G. BUHLERSee *Indian Antiquary*, 1877, page 156

"The beloved of the gods speaketh thus [*It is*] more than thirty-two years and a half that I am a hearer [*of the law*], and I did not exert myself strenuously. But it is a year and more that I have entered the community [*of ascetics*], and that I have exerted myself strenuously. Those gods who during this time were considered to be true [*gods*] in Jambudvîpa have now been abjured. For through exertion [*comes*] this reward, and it cannot be obtained by greatness. For a small [*man*] who exerts himself somewhat can gain for himself great heavenly bliss. And for this purpose this sermon has been preached. 'Both great ones and small ones should exert themselves, and should in the end gain [*true*] knowledge, and this manner [*of acting*] should be what? Of long duration. For this spiritual good will grow the growth, and will grow exceedingly, at the least it will grow one [*size*] and a half.' And this matter has been caused to be written on the hills, [*where*] a stone pillar is, [*there*] it has been written on a stone pillar. And as often as [*man brings*] to this writing ripe thought, [*so often*] will he rejoice, learning to subdue his senses." This sermon has been preached by the DEPARTED 256 [*years have elapsed*] since the departure of the TEACHER."

No 10

SECOND BAIRAT ROCK.

TRANSLATIONS

Burnouf

Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi, p. 725

"Le roi Priyadasa, à l'Assemblée du Magadha qu'il fait saluer, a souhaité et peu de peines et une existence agréable

"Il est bien connu, seigneurs, jusqu'où vont et mon respect et ma foi pour le Buddha, pour la Loi, pour l'Assemblée

"Tout ce qui, seigneurs, a été dit par le bienheureux Buddha, tout cela seulement est bien dit. Il faut donc monter, seigneurs, quelles (en) sont les autorités, de cette manière, la bonne loi sera de longue durée. voilà ce que moi je crois nécessaire

"En attendant, voici, seigneurs, les sujets qu'embrasse la loi, les bornes marquées par le Vinaya (ou la discipline), les facultés surnaturelles des Ariyas, les dangers de l'avenir, les stances du solitaire, le Sûta (le Sûtra) du solitaire, la spécu-

Wilson

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, XL, 366

"Priyadasi, the King, to the venerable assembly of Māgadha commands the infliction of little pain, and indulgence to animals

"It is verily known, I proclaim, to what extent my respect and favour (are placed) in Buddha, in the law, and in the assembly

"Whatever (words) have been spoken by the divine Buddha, they have all been well said, and in them verily I declare that capability of proof is to be discerned—so that the pure law (which they teach) will be of long duration, as far as I am worthy (of being obeyed)

"For these I declare are the precepts of the law of the principal discipline (Vinaya) having overcome the oppressions of the Aryas, and future perils, (and refuted) the songs of the Munis, the Sûtras of the Munis, (the practices)

* The original has a double meaning. The other meaning is "And as often as [*a man seasons his*] boiled rice with this condiment he will be satisfied, falling into a state of *Samvara*, i.e., that state of intense satisfaction and repletion, in which he closes his eyes from pleasure, and suspends the activity of the senses generally."

Prinsep

Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi, p 725

lation d'Upatissa (Câriputtia) seulement, l'instruction de Lâghula (Râhula), en rejetant les doctrines fausses

“(Voilà) ce qui a été dit par le bienheureux Buddha Ces sujets qu’embrasse la loi, seigneurs, je désire, et c’est la gloire à laquelle je tiens le plus, que les Religieux et les Religieuses les écoutent et les méditent constamment, aussi bien que les fidèles des deux sexes

“ C’est pour cela, seigneurs, que je (vous) fais écrire ceci telle est ma volonté et ma déclaration ”

The following improved translation of this important inscription has lately appeared in the Indian Antiquary, Vol V, p 257, from the very competent pen of Professor Kern —

“ King *Priyadarsin* (that is, the Humane) of *Magadha* greets the Assembly (of Clerics)* and wishes them welfare and happiness Ye know, Sirs, how great is our reverence and affection for the Triad which is called *Buddha* (the Master), *Faith*, and *Assembly* All that our Lord Buddha has spoken, my Lords, is well spoken wherefore, Sirs, it must indeed be regarded as having indisputable authority, so the true faith shall last long Thus, my Lords, I honour (?) in the first place these religious works — *Summary of the Discipline*, *The Supernatural Powers of the Master* (or of the Masters), *The Terrors of the Future*, *The Song of the Hermit*, *The Sûtra on Asceticism*, *The Question of Upatishya*, and *The Admonition to Râhula concerning Falsehood*, uttered by our Lord Buddha These religious works, Sirs, I will that the Monks and Nuns, for the advancement of their good name, shall uninterruptedly study and remember, as also the laics of the male and female sex For this end, my Lords, I cause this to be written, and have made my wish evident ”

No 10

KHANDAGIRI ROCK.

TRANSLATION

Prinsep †

LINE 1 —“ Salutation (or glory) to the *anîhantas*, glory to all the saints, (or those who have attained final emancipation)

“ By *Ana*, the great king, borne on his mighty cloud-chariot,—rich in possession of the purest wealth of heart and desire,—of exceeding personal beauty,—having an army of undaunted courage

“ By him (was made) the excavation of the 83 rocky peaks of *Kalingadwîpa*” (or “by him, the king of Kalinga, was this rock excavation (made) ”

LINE 2 —“ (By him) possessed of a comely form at the age of 15 years,—then joining in youthful sports,—afterwards for nine years engaged in mastering the arts of reading and writing, arithmetic, navigation, commerce, and law,—and resplendent in all knowledge,—(the former Raja being then in his 85th year) thus, at the age of 24, full of wisdom and uprightness, and on the verge of manhood, (let the remainder of youth) (through him) does a third victory in the battle of the city of the *Kalinga* royal family, sanctify the accession (anointment) of the mahârâja

LINE 3 —“ Upon his accession, choosing the Brahmanical faith he causes to be repaired the city, walls, and houses, (that had been) destroyed by a storm

* Or, “ greets the Assembly of Magadha ”

† Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, VI, 1080

Wilson

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, XVI, 366

of inferior ascetics, the censure of a light world, and (all) false doctrines

“ These things, as declared by the divine Buddha, I proclaim, and I desire them to be regarded as the precepts of the law

“ And that as many as there may be, male and female mendicants, may hear and observe them, constantly, as well also as male and female followers (of the laity)

“ These things I affirm, and have caused this to be written (to make known to you) that such will be my intention ”

"For the pool (or ascetics) of *Kalinga* a reservoir of cool water and a ghât (?), also presents of every necessary and equipages he makes permanent endowment of"

LINE 4 — "With 83,000 *panas** he gains the affection of his people, and in a second house (which the architect has prepared on the western side (for) horses, elephants, men, carriages, a number of chambers he caused to be established (or he transferred them thither) for those coming from *Kansa* forest to see, the balcony * * * of the

LINE 5 — inhabitants of *Sālanagara*, he, inclining to virtue, skilled in the science of music, causing to be sounded the *dampana* and the *tabhata* (drums?) with beautiful and merry dancing girls, causes diversions

"In like manner turning his mind to law, in an establishment of learned men, he (called together) the Buddhist priests of Eastern *Kalinga*, who were settled there under the ancient kings"

LINE 6 — * * "act of devotion * * jewel * * all equipages * *
* he gives to god"

"Afterwards inclining to charity, the hundred houses (?) of *Nanda Raja* destroyed,† and himself expelled, all that was in the city of *Vajapanādi*" (here we may fill up "he converted the plunder to the charitable purposes alluded to," and this sense is borne out by the beginning of the following or 7th line)

LINE 7 — "He munificently distributes in charity many hundred thousands (*panas*)—the town territory"‡ * * *

LINE 8 — "(To) the prince who caused (its) destruction, he ordains the pain of the cavern (imprisons in one of the caves?)—and causes the murderer to labour by a generous requital * * seated on the hill * * and lavishes bland speeches and obedience"

LINE 9 — "Apes, bulls, horses, elephants, buffaloes (?) and all requisites for the furniture of the house,—to induce the practice of rejecting improper persons, he farther bestowed (or appointed) attendants of the *barman* caste (Brahman?)

[From this point the commencement of each line is lost]

LINE 10 — "iāya causes to be made the palace (or fort) of 15 victories"

LINE 11 — "finding no glory in the country which had been the seat of the ancient princes,—a city abounding in envy and hypocrisy,—and reflecting in the year 1300"—(a break follows and leaves us in the dark as to what era (if any) is here alluded to) * * *
falling of heavenly form * * * twelve * * * §

LINE 12 — || * * * * *

LINE 13 — "He distributes much gold at Benares * * * he gives as charity innumerable and most precious jewels"

LINE 14 — "In the year 1300 married with the daughter of the so-called conqueror of the mountains (a hill rāja), (the rest is obscure, but seemingly declaratory of some presents to priests)

LINE 15 — (Few words intelligible)

LINE 16 — "He causes to be constructed subterranean chambers, caves containing a *chetiya* temple and pillars" * * *

LINE 17 — "For whom the happy heretics continually pray * * slayer, having 1 lakh of equipages * * the fearless sovereign of many hills, by the sun (cherished, or some such epithet) the great conqueror Raja *Khāravēla Sanda* (or "the king of the Ocean shore," reading *Khāravēlasya*, and supposing the two final strokes not to be letters)"

I read the last name as *Khāravēla Sīr*, and just preceding it there seems to be a cluster of geographical names, ending with "all the rājas of the hill districts," *pavata-chalo rāja savam*

* There is no word for 83 in the original, Prinsep having got two letters too many in the term *pannatissidhi*, which he reads *pannatissirasihi*. Apparently the sum is 100,000, *satasahasahi* according to Prinsep's own reading of the following word

† Here Prinsep reads *porajanapadam*, which may be correct, but the initial letter in the photograph looks like O.

‡ Here my correcter reading of the text will necessitate a fresh translation, which will considerably alter the meaning

§ At the end of this line where Prinsep reads *Siri pithi i ajāno* I read *utara-patha rājano*, or "the king of the northern region," an expression which recalls the *Dakshinapatha* or southern region of Samudra Gupta's inscription

|| Prinsep has not attempted to read any portion of this line, but I observe the name of *Nanda Raja*, and I think also that of *Magadha vasasa*

TRANSLATIONS

OF

CAVE INSCRIPTIONS.

BARABAR CAVES

No 1

Burnouf

A C

“ Par le 101 Piyadasi, la douzième année de son
sacre, cette caverne du *Nigoka* (le figuier Indien)
a été donnée (le reste manque) ”

“ By the King Piyadasi, in the 12th year of
his inauguration, this cave of the Nyagiodha
Tree (the banian) has been given to the men-
dicants ”

As Burnouf found Kittoe's copy of this inscription incomplete, he left his translation as above
But as I have been able to complete the text by the addition of the words (*di)na adivikemhi*, I have
added the translation of the same phrase “ aux mendiants,” as given by Burnouf in another place *

No 2

Burnouf

A C

“ Par le 101 Piyadasi, la douzième année de son
sacre, cette grotte dans la montagne *Khalatika* a
été donnée par les mendiants ”

“ By the King Piyadasi, in the 12th year of
his inauguration, this cave in the *Khalatika*
hills has been given to the mendicants ”

Burnouf has an interesting note on the name of *Khalatika*, which he ingeniously identifies with
the Sanskrit *śkhalatika*, “slippery”† In my descriptive account of these caves in the early part of
this volume I have suggested that this name may be connected with Thsang's *Kie-lan-to*, and with
the Kallatu or Kalantu Indians of Herodotus and Helataeus

No 3

Burnouf

A C

“ Le Roi Piyadasi * la dix-neuvième année
depuis son sacre † “ “ cette caverne” * *

“ The King Piyadasi, in the 19th year after
his inauguration * * this cavern * * in
the Khalanti hill” * *

Burnouf felt unable to suggest even a conjectural reading for the imperfect portion of this in-
scription ‡ I have recovered the words *Khalati* or *Khalanti pavata*, but I can make nothing of the
remaining portion

NAGARJUNI CAVES.

No 4

Prinsep

Burnouf

“ The Brahman girl's cave, excavated by the
hands of the most devoted sect of Baudhdha
ascetics for the purpose of a secluded residence,

“ La caverne des Tisserands a été destinée par
le roi *Dasalatha*, le bien aimé des Dévas, aussi-
tôt après sa consecration au trône, à être un lieu

* Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi, Appendice, 779 780

† Le Lotus, Appendice, 779

‡ Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi, Appendice, 780

Prinsep

was appointed then habitation in perpetuity by *Dasaratha*, the beloved of the gods, immediately on his ascending the throne "†

Burnouf

d'habitation pour les respectables mendiants, tant que dureront le soleil et la lune "†

This cave, as well as the two next mentioned, were excavated by King *Dasaratha*, the grandson of *Asoka*, in the first year of his reign, B C 215, as a residence for *Bhadantas*. I have formerly suggested that the term *Vapiyala*, which is the name of the cave, was derived from *Vāpi*, a well or reservoir, and that the cave was so called because there is a fine large well immediately in front of it. The well is 9 feet in diameter and 23 feet deep ‡

No 5

Prinsep

"The *Milkmaid's* cave, excavated by the hands of the most devoted sect of *Bauddha* ascetics for the purpose of a secluded residence, was appointed then habitation in perpetuity by *Dasaratha*, the beloved of the gods, immediately on his ascending the throne "§

Burnouf

"La caverne de la *Bergère* a été destinée par le *Dasalatha*, le bien-aimé des *Dévas*, aussitôt après sa consecration au trône, à être un lieu d'habitation pour les respectables mendiants, tant que dureront le soleil et la lune "||

Burnouf suggests that these caves probably existed before the time of *Dasaratha* as natural caverns, and were already known as the "*Milkmaid's* cave," &c. This explanation seems a very natural one, but I do not think that it can be true, as all these caves have been hewn out of solid masses of rock, where the outer face presents a clean and unfissured front. Apparently *Burnouf* was not quite satisfied with the translation of *Gopika Kūbhā* as "*la caverne de la Bergère*," for he gives the alternative version of "*la caverne des Bergers*," by making *gopika* an adjective agreeing with *kūbhā*.

No 6

Prinsep

Prinsep has not proposed any rendering of the word *Vadathula*, which forms the name of the cave

Burnouf

"La caverne de celui qui a eu en richesses a été destinée par le roi *Dasalatha*," &c, as in Nos 4 and 5 ¶

In this translation *Burnouf* has taken *vadathula* as the equivalent of the Sanskrit *vriddhastha*, "*celui qui a fait croître ses richesses* "

UDAYAGIRI

No 1 — *The Snake Cave**Prinsep* **

"The impregnable (or unequalled) Chamber of *Chulakarma*" * * continued in—

No 2 — *The Snake Cave*

"and the appropriate temple (or palace) of *Karma*"
+ (*Rishi*?)

No 3 — *The Tiger Cave*

"Excavated by *Ugra Aveda*" (the antivedist?)
the *Sasuvini* "

"The cave of *Sabhuti* of *Ugara Akhada*," ††

* Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, VI, 678

† Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi, Appendice, 775

‡ Archaeological Survey of India, I, 49

** These translations are taken from the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, VI, 1073 1074

†† My reading of the text of this inscription is taken from a photographic picture of a cast made by Mr H H Locke

§ Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, VI, 678

|| Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi, Appendice, 775 776

¶ Ditto ditto, 778

*Prinsep*No 4 — *Nameless Cave*

"The excavation of Yanākūya for *

No 5 — *The Pawan Cave*

(Similar to No 1)

No 6 — *Manikpura Cave*

"The excavation of the mighty (or of *Vra*) "Cave of *Ana* Mahārāja, lord of Kalinga, sovereign, the lord of Kalinga, &c, * * * of the great cloud-borne" * * * Kādepa (?) 'the worshipper of the Sun'"

No 7. — *Manikpura Cave*

"The excavation of the Prince *Vattala*"

"Cave of Prince Vaddika"

As this last record is placed over a small door of the same cave in which No 6 is found, it would seem that Prince Vaddaka must have been a son of Raja Ana

No 8 — *The Varikanta Cave**Prinsep*

"Excavation of the Rajas of Kalinga enjoying the favour of the Arhantas" (Buddhist Saints) "Cave made by * * * Raja Lalāka for the benefit (or use) of the Arhantas" and (the rest is too much mutilated to be read with Siamanas of Kalinga, &c, * ") any degree of confidence)

TRANSLATIONS.

PILLAR INSCRIPTIONS.

See *Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society*, Vol VI, p 581, by Prinsep

DELHI PILLAR—NORTH SIDE

EDICT I

Prinsep

“ Thus spake king Devānampīya Piyadasi — ‘ In the twenty-seventh year of my anointment, I have caused this religious edict to be published in writing I acknowledge and confess the faults that have been cherished in my heart From the love of virtue, by the side of which all other things are as sins, from the strict scrutiny of sin, and from fervent desire to be told of sin, by the fear of sin and by very enormity of sin,—by these may my eyes be strengthened and confirmed (in rectitude)

“ ‘ The sight of religion, and the love of religion, of their own accord increase and will ever increase and my people, whether of the laity (*grihast*) or of the priesthood (ascetics), all mortal beings, are knit together thereby, and prescribe to themselves the same path and, above all, having obtained the mastery over their passions, they become supremely wise For this is indeed true wisdom it is upheld and bound by (it consists in) religion, by religion which cherishes, religion which teaches pious acts, religion that bestows (the only true) pleasure ’ ”

EDICT II

“ Thus spake king Devānampīya Piyadasi — ‘ In religion is the chief excellence, but religion consists in good works in the non-omission of many acts —mercy and charity, purity and chastity,—(these are) to me the anointment of consecration Towards the poor and the afflicted, towards bipeds and quadrupeds, towards the fowls of the air and things that move in the waters, manifold have been the benevolent acts performed by me Out of consideration for things inanimate even many other excellent things have been done by me To this purpose is the present edict promulgated, let all pay attention to it (or take cognizance thereof), and let it endure for ages to come —and he who acts in conformity thereto, the same shall attain eternal happiness, (or shall be united with Sugato) ’ ”*

EDICT III

“ ‘ Thus spake king Devānampīya Piyadasi — ‘ Whatever appeareth to me to be virtuous and good, that is so held to be good and virtuous by me, and not the less if it have evil tendency, is it accounted for evil by me or is it named among the *asīnave* (the nine offences?) Eyes are given (to man) to distinguish between the two qualities (between right and wrong) according to the capacity of the eyes so may they behold

“ ‘ The following are accounted among the nine minor transgressions —mischievousness, anger, pride, envy These evil deeds of nine kinds shall on no account be mentioned They should be regarded as opposite (or prohibited) Let this (ordinance) be impressed on my heart, let it be cherished with all my soul ’ ”†

* Burnouf has criticised this translation in *Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, p 667

† The translation of this Edict has been criticised by Burnouf in *Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, p 669

EDICT IV

WISU SIND

"Thus spake king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods — In the twenty-seventh year of my mountment, I have caused to be promulgated the following religious edict. My devotees, in very many hundred thousand souls, having (now) attained unto knowledge, I have ordained (the following) fines and punishments for their transgressions. Wherever devotees shall abide around (or circumambulate) the holy fig-tree for the performance of pious duties, the benefit and pleasure of the country and its inhabitants shall be (in making) offerings, and according to their generosity or otherwise shall they enjoy prosperity or adversity, and they shall give thanks for the coming of the faith. Whatever villages with their inhabitants may be given or maintained for the sake of the worship, the devotees shall receive the same, and for an example unto my people they shall follow after (or exercise solitary) austerities. And likewise, whatever blessings they shall pronounce, by these shall my devotees accumulate for the worship (?). Furthermore, the people shall attend in the night the great myrobalan-tree and the holy fig-tree. My people shall foster (accumulate) the great myrobalan. Pleasure is to be eschewed, as intoxication (?).

"My devotees doing thus for the profit and pleasure of the village, whereby they (coming) around the beauteous and *holy fig-tree* may cheerfully abide in the performance of pious acts. In this also are fines and punishments for the transgressions of my devotees appointed. Much to be desired is such renown! According to the measure of the offence (the destruction of *vyā* or happiness ?) shall be the measure of the punishment, but (the offender) shall not be put to death by me. Punishment (shall be) the punishment of those malefactors deserving of imprisonment and execution. Of those who commit murder on the high road (dacoits ?) even none, whether of the poor or of the rich, shall be injured (tortured) on my three especial days (?). Those guilty of cruelly beating or slaughtering living things, having escaped mutilation (through my clemency) shall give alms (as a deodand) and shall also undergo the penance of fasting. And thus it is my desire that the protection of even the workers of opposition shall tend to (the support of) the worship, and (on the other hand) the people, whose righteousness increases in every respect, shall spontaneously partake of my benevolence."

EDICT V

SOUTH SIND

"Thus spake king Devānampiya Piyadasi — In the twenty-seventh year of my mountment the following animals shall not be put to death: the parrot, the muna (or thrush), the wild duck of the wilderness, the goose, the bull-faced owl, the vulture, the bat, the *ambaka-pullika*, the raven, and the common crow, the *śūḍhīyala*, the adjutant, the *sankujamava*, the *laplatasayaka*, the *panasasesumala*, the *sandala*, the *okapala*, those that go in pairs, the white dove, and the domestic pigeon. Among all four-footed beasts the following shall not be for food, they shall not be eaten: the she-goat of various kinds, and the sheep, and the sow, either when heavy with young or when giving milk. Unkilled birds of every sort for the desire of their flesh shall not be put to death. The same being alive shall not be injured, whether because of their uselessness or for the sake of amusement they shall not be injured. Animals that prey on life shall not be cherished. In the three four-monthly periods (of the year) on the evening of the full moon, during the three (holy) days, namely, the fourteenth, the fifteenth, and the first day after conjunction, in the midst of the uposatha ceremonies (or strict fasts), unkilld things (or live fish ?) shall not be exposed for sale. Yet, on these days, neither the snake tribe, nor the feeders on fish (alligators), nor any living beings whatsoever shall be put to death.

"On the eighth day of the paksha (or half month) on the fourteenth, on the fifteenth, on (the days when the moon is in the mansions of) tushra or punarvasi,—on these several days in the three four-monthly periods, the ox shall not be tended: the goat, the sheep, and the pig, if indeed any be tended (for domestic use) shall not then be tended. On the tushra and the punarvasi of every four months, and of every paksha or semilunation of the four months, it is forbidden to keep (for labour) either the horse or the ox.

"Furthermore, in the twenty-seventh year of my reign, at this present time, twenty-five prisoners are set at liberty."

EDICT VI

EAST SIDE

“Thus spake king Devānampiyā Piyadasi — ‘In the twelfth year of my anointment, a religious edict (was) published for the pleasure and profit of the world, having destroyed that (document) and regarding my former religion as sin, I now for the benefit of the world proclaim the fact. And this (among my nobles, among my near relations, and among my dependants, whatsoever pleasures I may thus abandon,) I therefore cause to be destroyed, and I proclaim the same in all the congregations, while I pray with every variety of prayer for those who differ from me in creed, that they following after my proper example may with me attain unto eternal salvation. Wherefore the present edict of religion is promulgated in this twenty-seventh year of my anointment.’ ”

EDICT VII

“Thus spake king Devānampiyā Piyadasi — ‘Kings of the olden time have gone to heaven under these very desires. How then among mankind may religion (or growth in grace) be increased? Yea, through the conversion of the humbly-born shall religion increase.’ ”

“Thus spake king Devānampiyā Piyadasi — ‘The present moment and the past have departed under the same ardent hopes. How by the conversion of the royal-born may religion be increased? Through the conversion of the lowly-born if religion thus increaseth, by how much (more) through the conviction of the high-born, and then conversion, shall religion increase? Among whomsoever the name of God resteth (?) verily this is religion, (or verily virtue shall there increase).’ ”

“Thus spake king Devānampiyā Piyadasi — ‘Wherefore from this very hour I have caused religious discourses to be preached, I have appointed religious observances that mankind having listened thereto shall be brought to follow in the right path and give glory unto God.’ ” (Agni?)

EDICT VIII

“Moreover, along with the increase of religion, opposition will increase for which reason I have appointed sermons to be preached, and I have established ordinances of every kind, through the efficacy of which, the misguided, having acquired true knowledge, shall proclaim it on all sides (?) and shall become active in upholding its duties. The disciples, too, flocking in vast multitudes (many hundred thousand souls) Let these likewise receive my command, ‘In such wise do ye, too, address on all sides (or address comfortably?) the people united in religion.’ ”

“King Devānampiyā Piyadasi thus spake — ‘Thus among the present generation have I endowed establishments, appointed men very wise in the faith, and done for the faith.’ ”

“King Devānampiyā Piyadasi again spake as follows — ‘Along the high roads I have caused fig-trees to be planted, that they may be for shade to animals and men, I have (also) planted mango trees and at every half coss I have caused wells to be constructed, and (resting places?) for nights to be erected. And how many taverns (or serais) have been erected by me at various places for the entertainment of man and beast! So that as the people, finding the road to every species of pleasure and convenience in these places of entertainment, these new towns, (vyāpuri?) rejoice under my rule, so let them thoroughly appreciate and follow after the same (system of benevolence). This is my object, and thus I have done.’ ”

“Thus spake king Devānampiyā Piyadasi — ‘Let the priests deeply versed in the faith (or let my doctrines?) penetrate among the multitudes of the rich capable of granting favours, and let them penetrate alike among all the unbelievers, whether of ascetics or of householders, and let them penetrate into the assemblies (?) for my sake. Moreover, let them for my sake find their way among the Brāhmins and the most destitute and among those who have abandoned domestic life, for my sake let them penetrate, and among various unbelievers for my sake let them find their way — ye use your utmost endeavours among these several classes, that the wise men, these men learned in the religion (or these doctrines of my religion) may penetrate among these respectively, as well as among all other unbelievers.’ ”

"Thus spake king Devānampiya Piyadasi — 'And let these (priests) and others the most skilful in the sacred offices penetrating among the charitably disposed of my queens and among all my secluded women discreetly and respectfully use their most persuasive efforts (at conversion) and acting on the heart and on the eyes of the children, for my sake penetrate in like manner among the charitably disposed of other queens and princes for the purpose (of imparting) religious enthusiasm and thorough religious instruction. And this is the true religious devotion, this the sum of religious instruction, *viz*, that it shall increase the mercy and charity, the truth and purity, the kindness and honesty of the world' "

"Thus spake king Devānampiya Piyadasi — 'And whatsoever or benevolent acts have been done by me, the same shall be prescribed as duties to the people who follow after me and in this (manner) shall their influence and increase be manifest,—by doing service to father and mother, by doing service to spiritual pastors, by respectful demeanour to the aged and full of years, and by kindness and condescension to Brahmins and Sramans, to the orphan and destitute, to servants and the minstrel tribe' "

"King Devānampiya Piyadasi again spake — 'And religion increaseth among men by two separate processes, by performance of religious offices and by security against persecution. Accordingly, that religious offices and immunities might abound among multitudes, I have observed the ordinances myself as the apple of my eye (?) (as testified by) all these animals which have been saved from slaughter, and by manifold other virtuous acts performed on my behalf. And that the religion may be from the persecution of men, increasing through the absolute prohibition to put to death living beings, or to sacrifice aught that draweth breath. For such an object is all this done, that it may endure to my sons and their sons' sons as long as the sun and moon shall last. Wherefore let them follow its injunctions and be obedient thereto and let it be had in reverence and respect. In the twenty-seventh year of my reign have I caused this edict to be written, so sayeth (Devānampiya). Let stone pillars be prepared and let this edict of religion be engraven thereon, that it may endure unto the remotest ages' "

SEPARATE EDICTS

ALLAHABAD PILLAR

No 1

Queen's Edict

Prinsep

"By the mandate of *Devānampiya* the ministers every where are to receive notice. These also (namely) mango trees† and other things are the gift of the second princess (his) queen, and these for * * * of *Kichhigani*, the third princess, the general (daughter's * * ?) Of the second lady thus let the act redound with triple force" ‡

In his remarks on this inscription Turnour has identified the "second queen" with the attendant of the former queen Asandhimitrā, whom Asoka married in the 31st year of his reign §. But as a "third queen" is mentioned in the inscription, the second queen must have been *Asandhimitrā* herself, and the "third queen," who was married in the 31st year of Asoka, must have been the queen *Kichhigani* of the inscription. By this reckoning the first queen would have been the predecessor of *Asandhimitrā* and the mother of Kunāla. The names of at least two other queens are known 1, *Tishya-rakshita*, by whose contrivance Prince Kunāla was blinded, and

* This last passage was afterwards slightly altered by Prinsep as follows — "In order that this religious edict may stand (remain), stone pillars and stone slabs (or receptacles) shall be accordingly prepared, by which the same may endure unto remote ages"—Bengal Asiatic Society Journal, VI, 1059. The word translated stone slabs is read as *sila dharihani*, instead of *phalalani* or "tablets," as pointed out by me some twelve years ago.

† *Ambavadi* means a "mango garden."

‡ Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, VI, 967. The words immediately following the name of Devānampiya, "the ministers every where are to receive notice," are taken from Prinsep's corrected reading in Vol VI, p. 448.

§ Turnour's Mahawanso, p. 122.

2, *Padmāvatī*, the mother of Kunāla * It is probable therefore that the titles of first, second, and third queens must denote their relative rank, and not their sequence in order of time It is certain at least that *Tishya-sakshatā* was the "first" queen, as she is distinctly called so in the *Aśoka avadāna* †

No 2

Kosambi Edict

As this inscription has only lately been discovered by myself, there is of course no translation available, and I am afraid that it is in too mutilated a state to be of much use But the first line is complete, and may be rendered

"Devānampiya commands the rulers of Kosambi"

The same word *annapayati* occurs in the Deotek inscription

Sanchi Pillar

Of this inscription Prinsep remarks that it is in "too mutilated a state to be restored entirely, but from the commencement of the third line, it may be concluded that some provision was made by a 'charitable and religiously disposed person for hungry priests,' and this is confirmed by the two nearly perfect lines at the foot 'It is also my desire that camphorated (cool?) water should be given to drink May this excellent purpose endure for ever!'"

A comparison of Prinsep's reading of the text with my version, which has been made afresh during a recent visit to Sanchi, shows some important differences which will necessitate a revised translation of the last two lines My reading of the fourth line also differs from Prinsep's, but in a less degree The words *Bhikkhu cha Bhikkhuni* seemed to me to be quite clear

* Burnouf Introduction à l'Histoire du Buddhism, Indien, 149, 403, 405

† Burnouf, p 405 "La première des femmes d'Acoka"

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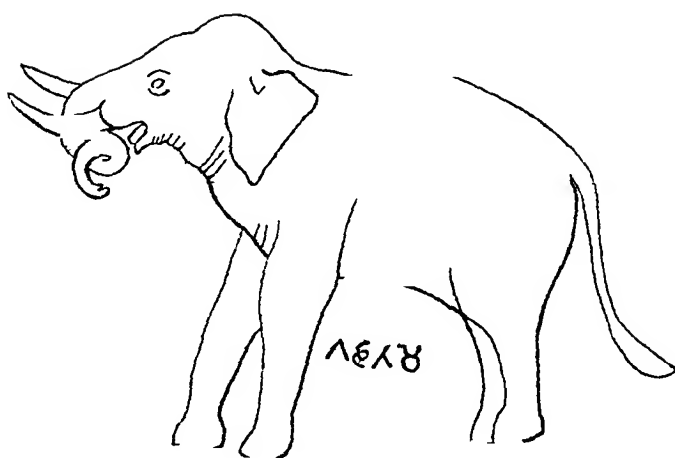
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- C

KHALSI ROCK

N Face



S Face.

EDICT

XVI

2. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 ॐ असौ मेव भगवन्महाशिवः ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 4. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 6. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 8. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 10. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 12. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
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ROCK AT GIRNÂR
in Kathiâwâd

[illegible]

EDICT I

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[illegible]

EDICT II

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[illegible]

EDICT III

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[illegible]

EDICT IV

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[illegible]

EDICT

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GIRNÂR ROCK
in Kâthiâwâd.

EDICT VI

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VII .

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viii

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IX

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ንድህረ ህጽታዎች የፍልጋታ ጥራት ለማረጋገጥ ያሉ ምሳሌዎች ለሀገራችን ስሜት ማሳደግ ይችላሉ፡፡
 ለሀገራችን ስሜት ማሳደግ ይችላሉ፡፡ ለሀገራችን ስሜት ማሳደግ ይችላሉ፡፡ ለሀገራችን ስሜት ማሳደግ ይችላሉ፡፡
 ለሀገራችን ስሜት ማሳደግ ይችላሉ፡፡ ለሀገራችን ስሜት ማሳደግ ይችላሉ፡፡ ለሀገራችን ስሜት ማሳደግ ይችላሉ፡፡
 ለሀገራችን ስሜት ማሳደግ ይችላሉ፡፡ ለሀገራችን ስሜት ማሳደግ ይችላሉ፡፡ ለሀገራችን ስሜት ማሳደግ ይችላሉ፡፡

GIRNÁR ROCK
in Káthiáwād

XII EDICT

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

FIRST
SEPARATE EDICT

DHAULI ROCK
Left Face

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DHAULI ROCK

Middle Face

EDICT

I

II

III

IV

V

3

Right Face

VII

VIII

IX

X

XIV

SECOND
SEPARATE
EDICT

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ROCK OF JAUQUADA

in Ganjam.

[illegible][illegible]

10. የጋራው ጥቅም
 11. የጋራው ጥቅም
 12. የጋራው ጥቅም
 13. የጋራው ጥቅም

[illegible]

X	21	-	-	-	-	ጸሐይ ላይ ለሚገኝ ጥቅም ላይ የሚውል
	22	-	-	-	-	ጸሐይ ላይ ለሚገኝ ጥቅም ላይ የሚውል
	23	-	-	-	-	ጸሐይ ላይ ለሚገኝ ጥቅም ላይ የሚውል
XIX	24	-	-	-	-	ጸሐይ ላይ ለሚገኝ ጥቅም ላይ የሚውል
	25	-	-	-	-	ጸሐይ ላይ ለሚገኝ ጥቅም ላይ የሚውል

5

II EDICT

ROCK
IN
JAUGADA FORT
Ganjam

SEPARATE EDICTS

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PLATE XIII

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I
EDICT

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ROCK AT SAHASARÂM
near Patna

1 ን ፊርማውን ይጽፉ፡
2 ለፊርማው ይጽፉ፡ ለፊርማው ይጽፉ፡
3 ለፊርማው ይጽፉ፡ ለፊርማው ይጽፉ፡
4 ለፊርማው ይጽፉ፡ ለፊርማው ይጽፉ፡
5 ለፊርማው ይጽፉ፡ ለፊርማው ይጽፉ፡
6 ለፊርማው ይጽፉ፡ ለፊርማው ይጽፉ፡
7 ለፊርማው ይጽፉ፡ ለፊርማው ይጽፉ፡
8 ለፊርማው ይጽፉ፡ ለፊርማው ይጽፉ፡

IX

ROCK AT RUPNÂTH
near Jabalpur

[illegible]

X

ROCK AT BAIRÂT
near Jaypur

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30 1. 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

ROCK AT BAIRÂT
near Jaypur

1 ርህራሄው ለጥቅም ሆኖ ለሌሎች ለማግኘት ሲሞላ
2 ምንም እንኳን ለሌሎች ለማግኘት ሲሞላ ለሌሎች ለማግኘት
3 ምንም እንኳን ለሌሎች ለማግኘት ሲሞላ ለሌሎች ለማግኘት
4 ምንም እንኳን ለሌሎች ለማግኘት ሲሞላ ለሌሎች ለማግኘት
5 ምንም እንኳን ለሌሎች ለማግኘት ሲሞላ ለሌሎች ለማግኘት
6 ምንም እንኳን ለሌሎች ለማግኘት ሲሞላ ለሌሎች ለማግኘት
7 ምንም እንኳን ለሌሎች ለማግኘት ሲሞላ ለሌሎች ለማግኘት
8 ምንም እንኳን ለሌሎች ለማግኘት ሲሞላ ለሌሎች ለማግኘት

CAVES IN RÂMNÂTH HILL
near Sirgūja

[illegible][illegible]

SLAB AT DEOTEK
near Nagpur

ሐወልተክሊለምጽብጽ
 ሐወልተክሊለምጽብጽ
 ሐወልተክሊለምጽብጽ
 ሐወልተክሊለምጽብጽ

CAVES AT BARÂBAR.

[illegible]

ህ ደ ገረሰ ከሥ ገ ረ ዕ
 ገ ሥ ዕ ሥ ሥ ሥ ሥ ሥ ሥ ሥ
 ተ ገ ገ ሥ ሥ ሥ ሥ ሥ ሥ ሥ
 ሥ ሥ ሥ ሥ ሥ ሥ ሥ ሥ ሥ

ህ ደረሰ ከዚህ ላይ ተገኝቶ
 ለሰላም ስላለችው ምስጋና
 ይቀርባል፡፡ ሆኖም ለሰላም
 ስላለችው ምስጋና ይቀርባል፡፡
 ለሰላም ስላለችው ምስጋና
 ይቀርባል፡፡

CAVES AT NÂGÂRJUNI

ሐይቁትና ሰጠው ስላገደው
 አገረው ለሰጠው ስላገደው
 ሰጠው ስላገደው ስላገደው
 አገረው ለሰጠው ስላገደው

ጸ ሆቱቱ ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት
 ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት
 ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት
 ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት

ዕብራይ ተብሎ ስለሚባል ስሙ ስለሆነው ስለሚለኩት
 ስለሆነው ስለሚለኩት ስለሆነው ስለሚለኩት
 ስለሆነው ስለሚለኩት ስለሆነው ስለሚለኩት
 ስለሆነው ስለሚለኩት ስለሆነው ስለሚለኩት
 ስለሆነው ስለሚለኩት ስለሆነው ስለሚለኩት

FIRI

[illegible]

የፊኒክስ ተግባር ምዕራፍ

1. 工.

ጋህቲ ተገዝቶ ይገኛል፡፡

4 TIGER CAVE

[illegible]

5 NAMFI FSS CAVE

४ ८ ४ ५ ७ ८ ९ १० ११ १२ १३ १४ १५

6 PAWAN CAVE

[illegible]

Photocopy Graph d is the same General Office Calcula

One-Tenth of Original

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

20 06/06/2008 11:00 AM 11/06/2008 11:00 AM

**ՀԱՅԿԱՍՏԱՆԻ ՀԱՆՐԱՊԵՏՈՒԹՅԱՆ
ՄԱՐԶԻ ԱԴԱՄՔԱՆԱԾՈՒԹՅԱՆ
ՎԵՐԱԳԵՂՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՆԱԽԱՐԱՐՈՒԹՅԱՆ**

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DELHI PILLAR

From Siwálík

($Fin \approx Shals Lat$)

PLATE XVIII

NORTH

WEST

EDICT I _____

2 ጉድጓድ ርሳታ ገብረሰፋር ስፋሪያላ

2 ዕሳ ዘሰገደ፤ ወጽዖ ገብረሰፋር

4 ርሳታ ገብረሰፋር ዘሰገደ፤ ወጽዖ ገብረሰፋር

6 ወጽዖ ገብረሰፋር ዘሰገደ፤ ወጽዖ ገብረሰፋር

8 ገብረሰፋር ዘሰገደ፤ ወጽዖ ገብረሰፋር

10 ወጽዖ ገብረሰፋር ዘሰገደ፤ ወጽዖ ገብረሰፋር

12 ገብረሰፋር ዘሰገደ፤ ወጽዖ ገብረሰፋር

14 ወጽዖ ገብረሰፋር ዘሰገደ፤ ወጽዖ ገብረሰፋር

16 ገብረሰፋር ዘሰገደ፤ ወጽዖ ገብረሰፋር

III_

18 ወጽዖ ገብረሰፋር ዘሰገደ፤ ወጽዖ ገብረሰፋር

20 ገብረሰፋር ዘሰገደ፤ ወጽዖ ገብረሰፋር

22 ወጽዖ ገብረሰፋር ዘሰገደ፤ ወጽዖ ገብረሰፋር

[illegible]

One Tenth of Original

DELHI PILLAR

From Siwálík

(Enoz Shah's Lát)

SOUTH

EAST

EDICT V

EDICT VI

[illegible]

- 1 ሹፍረህ ህልኒህ፡፡ ህጻኑም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም
- 2 ዕሉዋቸውን ይገባሉ፡፡ ህጻኑም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም
- 3 ህጻኑም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም
- 4 ህጻኑም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም
- 5 ተገቢውን ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም
- 6 ህጻኑም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም
- 7 ህጻኑም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም
- 8 ህጻኑም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም
- 9 ህጻኑም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም
- 10 ህጻኑም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም
- 11 ህጻኑም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም
- 12 ህጻኑም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም
- 13 ህጻኑም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም
- 14 ህጻኑም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም
- 15 ህጻኑም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም
- 16 ህጻኑም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም
- 17 ህጻኑም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም
- 18 ህጻኑም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም
- 19 ህጻኑም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም
- 20 ህጻኑም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም ህጻናቱም

One Tench of O- , nal

DELHI PILLAR

From Siwâlik

(From Shah's Lat)

INSCRIPTION ROUND THE PILLAR

1. ॐ अस्य राज्ञः कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥
2. ॐ कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥
3. ॐ कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥
4. ॐ कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥
5. ॐ कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥
6. ॐ कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥
7. ॐ कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥
8. ॐ कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥
9. ॐ कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥
10. ॐ कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥
11. ॐ कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥

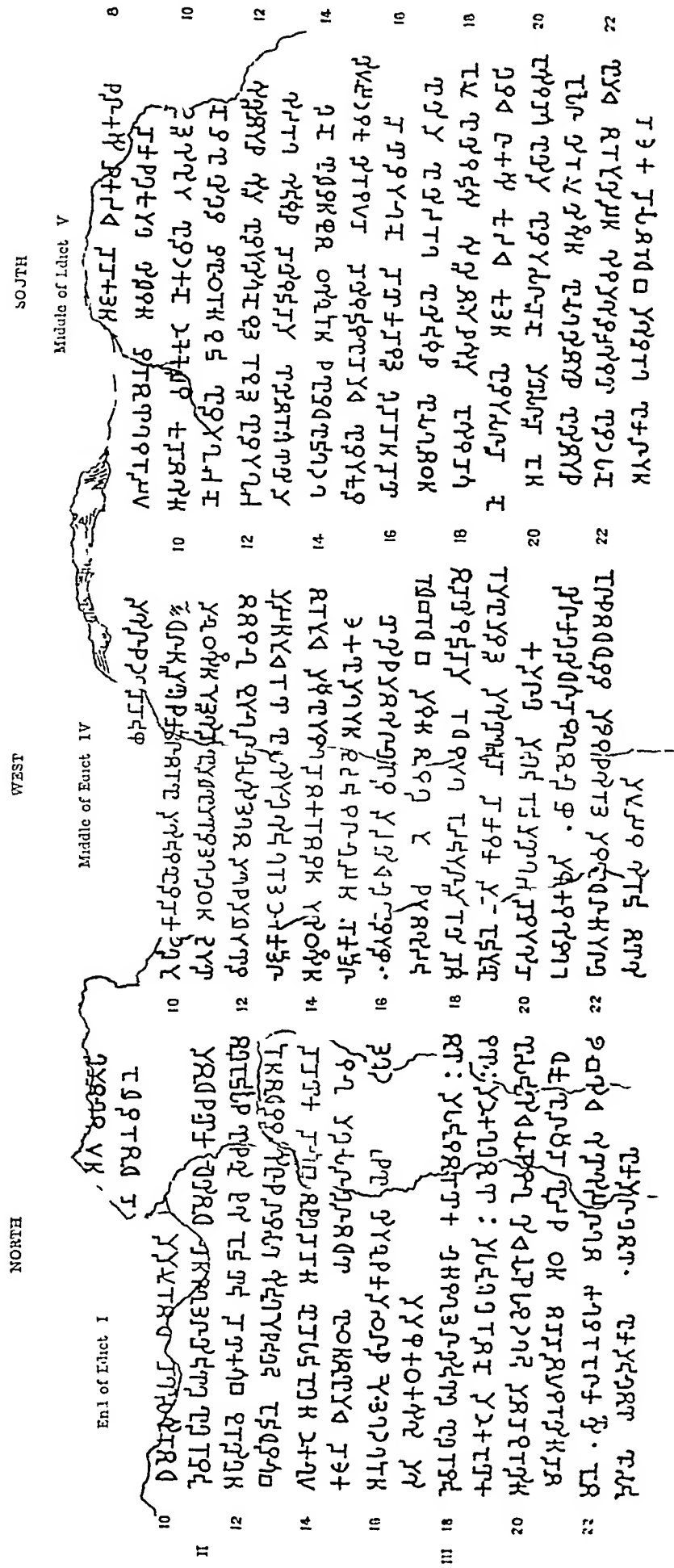
SANCHI PILLAR

1. ॐ अस्य राज्ञः कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥
2. ॐ कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥
3. ॐ कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥
4. ॐ कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥
5. ॐ कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥
6. ॐ कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥
7. ॐ कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥

DELHI PILLAR
From Mirat

PLATE VII

Upper Part all peeled off



[illegible]

1 . . .

[illegible]

ROSAMBI EDICT

GUPTA INSCRIPTION

Photomicrographed at the Survey General's Office Calcutta

SOUTH

[illegible]

ЛТ

NORTH

[illegible]

P I L L A R
AT
LAURIYA-NAVANDGARH
(Mathia)

[illegible]

P I L L A R

AT

LAURIYA - NAVANDGARH

(M a t h i a)

EDICT V

ንዕሲኒጢ ህጻናትና ህጻናት ስለሚገኙት ሁኔታዎች ማስረጃ ማቅረብ ይችላሉ።

2 -- 6x1 800x1 + 6x 200 47 55+ 851 8+87 62

ᐱ ᓂᕈ-ᑦ ᐸᒃ-ᑖ ᐅᐤ+ᔨ ᑭᑯ+ᑲᒃᑲ+ ᑳᓄ ᔨᐱᐱ+ᔨᐅ ᑐᑳᑐᐱ?

4. ለጽሁፍ ስርዓት ሥነ-ጥናትና ማረጋገጫ ስራዎች ላይ ማብራሪያ ማድረግ

ፍጋጥ ስራ ለጋራ ምርጫ ማዘጋጀት ማስፈራረም

[illegible]

ዘሴክራሪት ዕገቲቲ ርቲተርጅህ ለሲሲፎንቲዮህሊጅህ ንጋዘፊውጋ

8 ዕረዥህ፡፡ ሁሉ ለሰው ሕይወት ምላሽ ለሰጠው ለሰው ሕይወት ምላሽ ለሰጠው

[illegible]

10 ዚህ ስርዓት ለጥቅም ስራዎች ለሚያስፈልጉት ሰዎች ማሳተፍ ይቻላል፡፡

[illegible][illegible]

ደብዳቤው ለሰነድ ማረጋገጫ ማስገባት ይገባል፡፡

[illegible]
$$\square D187-I + 6I$$

ፕ 16 ንዕል ህጋዊ ስልጣኑን ስልጣኑን ከፍተኛ ስልጣኑን ይገልጻል

ቻተሌ ፎላሳግጋ ሕላዘሌ ሁሩ ለ ለ ል ሃዕፎ፣ፎፔዕ ፊዕታተሌ

[illegible]

ቶማስ ፋኒን ዘመናዊ ለውጦችን ገጽቶ ሲገልጽ ለግብረሰብ ስላለው ጥቅም

20 ሴባፒራፕሽን ማህበረሰብ ድምፅ ያደረገው ስራ ዘላቂ ነቁሎች

ಜುಲೈ ೨೦೧೭ ರಿಂದ ೨೦೧೮ ರ ವರೆಗೆ : ೧೦೦ ಕ್ಕಿಂತ ಹೆಚ್ಚು